

218

117

~~163~~

TEOLOGIA
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163

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BIB. NAZ. NAPOLI

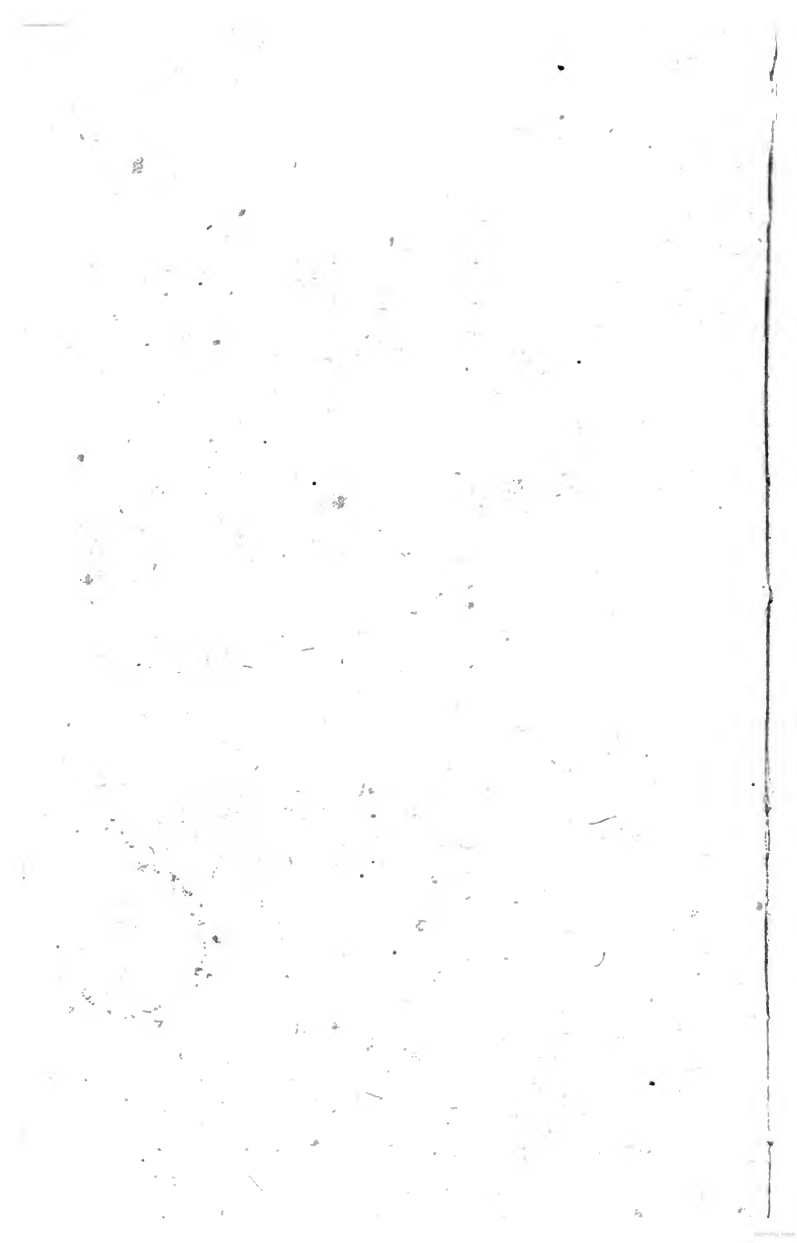
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163

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STRADYMUS. 12

CONTAINING

I. **MODEGUS**; or the **PILLAR OF CLOUD AND FIRE**, that guided the Israelites in the Wilderness, **NOT MIRACULOUS**: but, as faithfully related in *Exodus*, a thing equally practis'd by other nations, and in those places not onely useful but necessary.

II. **SYNDOMORUS**; or of the **EXOTERIC AND ESOTERIC PHILOSOPHY**, that is, of the *External and Internal Doctrine* of the antients: the one open and public, accommodated to popular Prejudices and the establish'd Religions; the other private and secret, wherein, to the few capable and discrete, was taught the real **TRUTH** stript of all disguises.

III. **HYDRAVIA**; or the history of a most beautiful, most virtuous, most learned, and **EVERY WAY ACCOMPLISH'D LADY**; who was torn to pieces by the **CLERGY of Alexandria**, to gratify the pride, emulation, and cruelty of their *Archbishop CYRIL*, commonly but undeservedly stil'd *Saint CYRIL*.

IV. **MANGONEUTES**: being a **DEFENSE OF NAZARENUS**, address'd to the right reverend **JOHN** lord Bishop of London; against his Lordship's Chaplain Dr. **MANGEY**, his Dedicator Mr. **PATTERSON**, and (who ought to have been nam'd first) the reverend Dr. **BRETT**, once belonging to his Lordship's Church.

By Mr. **T O L A N D**.

אֲפִיעָה חִירוֹת מִנִּי קָרִים

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Where may be had the 2d Edition of **NAZARENUS**.



THE HISTORY OF THE

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P R E F A C E.

I.



THE Title-pages of the following *Dissertations* do clearly enough indicate their several subjects: but the design of writing, and the occasion of publishing each, require I shou'd give some necessary information to the Reader, before he begins to peruse them. After acquainting my self, in the best manner I was able, with

the various origins and peculiar constitutions of the Grec and Roman Republics, not forgetting the Persian and other Monarchies; I judg'd my pains might be no less agreeably rewarded, if I shou'd use the like means, to get as clear a notion as possible of the MOSAIC *Theocracy*, or the Government of the Israelites. The curiosity that's natural to man, which makes him so ambitious of the character

Παλαίστε πολλάτε εἰδώς,

vehemently urg'd me to pry not indiligently into such remote antiquities: and my duty, as the Religion I profess was founded on the MOSAIC *Institution*, inspir'd me with still greater ardor in my researches. But as the polity of the Jews cou'd not be learnt without their history, both contain'd in the same books, and in the same thread of narration interwoven; so, notwithstanding the almost impenetrable obscurity with which those books are accus'd, I continually made such discoveries in them, relating to matters either different from what was taught by my guides, or that were not taught by any at all, as prov'd

to me no less intertaining than instructive. A principal head among others was, *that several transactions generally understood to be miraculous, were in reality very natural*; whatever the superstitious apprehensions of some, and the careless reading of others, led them to conceive. But such things, once taken for granted, soon become universal preconceptions; and so are never after examin'd, or with as universal opposition to him, that presumes on those inquiries. The discoveries I made of this sort created in me a higher veneration for MOSES, than even was instill'd by my instructors, and on better grounds. They did equally arm me against such, as, not content with their own gross interpretations, superadd the monstrous *Traditions* of others; and also against those, who reject the *Pentateuch* as intirely fabulous, and who will not allow either the wisdom or sanctity of the MOSAIC *Laws*. One of those discoveries makes the subject of HODEGUS, or the first *Dissertation*; wherein there are some other points incidentally discuss'd, not unworthy observation. Wherefore my design in this publication, is to make MOSES better understood, and consequently more easily believ'd: which is as well to defend him against those, who unreasonably believe him not at all, as also against those, who by their absurd belief render him incredible. The style of the *Old Testament* is extremely hyperbolical, even in the books that are written in prose; but in the poetical books wonderfully magnificent, and this sometimes in the description of the most ordinary events. Thus a storm (for example) is often represented in such pompous terms, as if the whole frame of nature had been convuls'd, and the Universe on the point of dissolution. Every thing great, or beautiful, or excellent in its kind, is attributed to GOD, or denominated from him: as a mighty Prince is call'd a *Prince of GOD* as ABRAHAM, a profound sleep a *sleep from the LORD*, a numerous army *the army of GOD*, extreme fear *the fear of the LORD*, high mountains *the mountains of GOD*, a great river *the river of GOD* as Jordan, tall cedars *the cedars of GOD*, a very large city *the great city of GOD* as Nineveh, with many more such examples, which might be produc'd at pleasure. Every thing therefore that's hyperbolical is not strait to be counted supernatural, nor what's onely magnificent to be admir'd as miraculous: besides that whatever can be explain'd by ordinary means, any thing whose phenomena are easily solv'd, and wherof the like

Gen. 27.
6. 1 Sam.
26. 12.
1 Chron.
12. 22.
2 Chron.
14. 14.
Psal. 36. 6.
Psal. 65. 9.
Psal. 80.
10. Jon.
3. 3.

like has often happen'd elsewhere, will by no man, who's not strongly prepossess'd with the errors of his education, be counted a miracle. Several years are past since I wrote this *Dissertation*. I sent the plan of it to a learned gentleman now alive, who shew'd it to some good judges, and had their approbation. Since that time I have seen a Discourse on this Subject written by HERMAN VON DER HARDT, professor of the Oriental languages at Helmstadt, a man no less perspicacious and candid, than judicious and learned, tho' for all these good qualities not infallible. His notion ¹ is, *that there was a sacred Fire kept unextinguish'd on an altar in ADAM's time, preserv'd by NOAH, and successively propagated by all the Patriarch's down to MOSES; who order'd it to be carry'd by AARON before the army of the Israelites, as a symbol of the DIVINE presence and favor.* This account he endeavors in other ² pieces to defend against diverse persons, who sent their objections to him in Letters: but in the XXIVth section of my *Dissertation*, I prove it to be not only precarious, but in every respect false and groundless; tho' my arguments were pointed against one, who wrote to the same effect long before Mr. VON DER HARDT, of whose work I had then no notice. In other respects I gratefully acknowledge to have profited by his labors, and am confident he'll not think the worse of me, for differing from him in this or any other particular. I have lately seen a book against him by one ³ MUNDENIUS, whom I have likewise answer'd without naming him, by confuting the common notions which he defends. He wou'd have succeeded better, had he made a right use of what ⁴ LIPSIUS, ⁵ BUXTORF, ⁶ SCHURTZFLEISCH expressly, and others occasionally, as ⁷ BRISSONIUS, ⁸ SPENCER, and the Annotators on some of the Classic

¹ HERMANNI VON DER HARDT &c. *Ephemerides Philologicae*, Helmstadii 1703: Discursus VI, ubi videnda voluminis pagina nonagesima, discursus verò quinta.

² In eodem Volumine. pag. 206—296.

³ M. CHRISTIANI MUNDENII de Columna Nubis et Ignis Commentatio.

⁴ JUSTI LIPSII Syntagma de Vesta et Vestalibus.

⁵ Historia Ignis Sacri.

⁶ CONRADI SAMUELIS SCHURTZFLEISCHII dissertatio de cultu Ignis apud omnes gentes nationesque recepto.

⁷ De Regno Persico.

⁸ De Legibus ritualibus Hebræeorum.

Exod. 13.

20, 21, 22,

23.

Sections

XXV,

XXVI,

XXVII,

XXVIII,

XXIX,

XXX.

Hypothes.

Pages 20

and 25.

Num. 10.

35, 36.

authors, have written concerning the *sacred Fires* of the ancients: for many, who fail in proving their main proposition, become useful or agreeable in their subsidiary literature. What I have advanc'd concerning the ANGEL mention'd in the 23d chapter of *Exodus*, I do not expect shou'd meet with due reception, till the work appears to which the explication of it properly belongs. But I am not so diffident about my notion of *the Angel of God* in the 19th and 20th verses of the 14th chapter of the same book; nor of my disquisition concerning RAGUEL, JETHRO, and HOBAB, who are strangely confounded by most writers: and I hope my account of the origin of the *Kenites*, from HOBAB'S being rewarded according to the promise of MOSES, for guiding the Israelites in the wilderness, where he was the *Fire-bearer* or Guide-general of the Camp, will give satisfaction to all impartial lovers of truth. As for others, I matter not what they think or say. If any shou'd contest the circumstance of the *Ark's* being carry'd on men's shoulders, because in some hiltorical cuts of the *Bible* tis represented carry'd like our Chairs, he may for all me enjoy his opinion: but as the *Ark* was to be visible, and its presence no small sign of encouragement to the Army, I rather think it was carry'd the other way. Its rings and staves wou'd serve both ways; but the nature of the thing, the solemn form of *Rise up, LORD, let thine enemies be scatter'd, and let them that hate thee, flee before thee*, whenever the *Ark* was to set forward, with many other passages to the same purpose, may I fancy determine the matter my way. This *Dissertation*, to conclude what I have to say of it here, is mention'd in a note upon *the Voyage of JAKES MASSE*; written by a Gentleman of great wit and judgement, to some of whose friends I shou'd my Manuscript at the Hague in the year 1703. His words are these in the 168th page. *We have heard speak of a learned man from England,*

9 On a oui parler d'un savant Anglois qui a fait une dissertation depuis peu, où il entreprend de prouver, qu'il n'y a eu rien de miraculeux. ni même d'extraordinaire dans cette colonne de feu qui conduisoit les Israélites dans le desert; et de faire voir par les meilleurs auteurs anciens et modernes, que c'a été toujours la coutume dans ces sortes de deserts, de se servir de feu pour diriger la marche des armées ou des multitudes, en le faisant porter devant elles par des Guides, de manière que toute la troupe en put voir

England, who not long since has compos'd a Dissertation, wherein he undertakes to prove, that there was nothing miraculous, nor even extraordinary, in that Pillar of fire which led the Israelites thro' the wilderness; and to show, by the best authors antient and modern, that it has been at all times the custom in those sorts of deserts, to make use of Fire in directing the march of Armies or Caravans, by causing it to be carry'd before them by Guides, in such sort that the whole multitude might see the Smoke of it by day, and the Flame of it during the night. He pretends that the person, who had the direction of this Fire, and who serv'd for a Guide to the Israelites, was no other than HOBAB, the father in law [I said the brother in law] of MOSES; which he endeavors to prove by the 29th and 30th verses of the tenth chapter of Numbers, and by several other passages of the holy Scripture. Now the reason, why I have not accordingly intitul'd it HOBAB, may be seen in the XXVIIth Section, to which I refer the Reader.

II. HAVING been so particular in relating the occasion of writing HODEGUS, I shall be the more brief in accounting for the occasions of publishing CLIDOPHORUS and HYPATIA. The first of these wou'd be either needless or more complete, had we but the book, which is said by EUNAPIUS to have been written by PORPHYRY: who commending (says ¹⁰ he) the medicine of perspicuity, and tasting it by experience, wrote A TREATISE CONCERNING THE SECRET DOCTRINES OF THE PHILOSOPHERS, which they involv'd in obscurity, as in the fables of the POETS, but which he brought to light. What made the Philosophers so cautious, and be at so great pains (for tis a much easier task to write of things plainly and directly, than in a perplexed circuit of

voir la fumée pendant le jour, et la flamme pendant la nuit. Il pretend que celui, qui a eu la direction de ce feu. et qui a servi de Guide aux Israelites, n'etoit autre chose que Hobab, le beau-pere de Moïse; ce qu'il tache de prouver par les versets 29 et 30 du chapitre x des nombres, et par plusieurs autres passages de l'Ecriture sainte. *A Bourdeaux* 1710.

10 Τὸν δὲ φιλοσοφῶν τὰ ἀπορρήτα καλυπτόντων ἀσάφεια, καθάπερ τῶν ποιητῶν τοῖς μύθοις, ὁ Πορφύριος, το μὲν σαρκικὸν τῆς σαφηνείας ἐπαινεῖσας, καὶ διὰ τῆς γευσάμενός, ὑποκνηνία γράσας, ἐς φῶς ἤγαγεν. In Porphyri. pag. 18. edit. 1616.

Or. be excu-
sed.

words under the veil of allegory or fable) I have in the *Dissertation* it self amply declar'd. In effect the Poets were not extant from the same danger, that commonly attend- ed the Philosophers: for tis a grand mistake to suppose, that the former did always write in a figurative strain out of pure choice, and because it was as amusing or al- luring as their numbers. No, no: those Poets and Phi- losophers who wou'd rather obtain the people's favor, than run any risque in undeceiving or instructing them (for I except the most generous spirited) must no less than those venal Orators and Historians; who court the ap- plause of the many, approve their favorite sentiments, as well as tickle their ears and fancies: Listen to a Man perfectly acquainted with this matter. *Whoever writes any thing for the people* (says ²¹ SYNESIUS, who was both Poet and Philosopher) *or addresses his speech to them, must necessarily appear popular in his doctrine, and invent or discourse what gratifies them: for they being unlearned, are therefore pertinacious and intractable defenders of their senseless prejudices; so that if any declines from his country rites, he must strait drink the juice of hemlock. What think you must HOMER have suffer'd from the Grecians, if he had related the naked truth concerning JUPITER? and not vended those monstrous fictions, which terrify children. All silly folks are children, no less at other times than in that of HOMER; a secret well known to EMPEDOCLES, with some other poetical Philosophers. And I must needs own that when I observe learned men, or such as are presum'd to be so from their professions, laboring by all oblique arts to render others no less learned; and it may be much more deserving on all accounts, obnoxious to the folly or madness of the vulgar, I cannot help being equally fill'd with contempt and abhorrence: but above all when they are Clergymen (the profess'd preachers of cha- rity, fair-dealing, and moderation) that are guilty of such*

21. Ὅστις δ' οὐκ ἀπὸ τοῦ γράφει καὶ δημοῦ λέγει, τοῦτο ἀναγκὴν δεῖν εἶναι τῇ δόξῃ. Ἰν' ἀπὸ τῶν ἀρεσκουσιν αὐτῷ πλεῖστη καὶ διαλεγῆται: καὶ γὰρ ἀμαθείς οἷσι, ἰσχυρογνώμονες εἰσι καὶ χαλεποὶ πειράζει τῶν ἀλοπῶν περὶ τῶν, ὡς ἂν τις τῶν πα- τριῶν παρρηκῇ, τάχῃ πείσαι το κακίον. Τί αὖ οὐκ ὁκνῇ Ὀμηροῦ ὑπὸ τῶν Ἑλλήνων παθεῖν, αὐτὰ τ' ἀληθῆ πει τοῦ Διὸς εἰπῶσα? Καὶ μηδὲν τοιούτο τετρατεύσασμενον, ὃ τὰ παι- δαία καὶ ἀπληθεῖται? In *Encom. Calvis. Edit. Par. pag. 72.*

unmanly,

unmanly, nay profligate devices. Not to look abroad for the methods of undermining and denigration, exercis'd by the several religious Orders of the Roman Church against each other; nor minutely to rehearse the atrocious calumnies of the *Constitutionists* against the *Anticonstitutionists* in France, the poverty and plague now reigning there, being imputed by the former to the latter: what shameful examples, I say, of such foul practices cou'd I produce here at home? what tale-bearing, what insinuations, what pumping, what wresting, what straining of words or actions, both among Church-men and Dissenters, on the account or pretence of Religion? The examples are too flagrant, the subjects too notorious, for me to descend to particulars, whether I wou'd avoid envy or decline partiality. But what by the misrepresentations and invectives of enemies, or the angry frowns and desertion of friends; what by the suspensions, deprivations; and expulsions of those, who are superior either in force or authority (not to mention incapacities and sufferings of diverse other kinds) men are become suspicious of each other, reserv'd in opening their minds about most things, ambiguous in their expressions, supple in their conduct; whereby not onely all mutual confidence, but likewise all laudable improvement, are in danger of being totally extirpated. To what sneaking equivocations, to what wretched shifts and subterfuges, are men of excellent endowments forc'd to have recourse thro human frailty, merely to escape disgrace or starving? and this very frequently on the score of Metaphysical abstractions, or chimeras that never had any existence out of the hollow noddles of waking dreamers. The consideration of these things, sufficiently express'd in the work in self, induc'd me to publish CLIDOPHORUS: that they of our modern times may, in the history of former ages, behold their own pictures drawn to the life; and learn the causes as well as the cure of their distemper, yet without expecting thanks or reward for the Physician. But excesses of a nature beyond those I have hitherto related, as endeavors to mob, if not even to worry men of learning and virtue, on account of their dissent from others in speculative opinions, made me write the life of HYPATIA. I was mov'd to undertake this work in a particular manner, by the unlawful and unchristian usage, that Mr. WHISTON receiv'd from Dr. SACHEVERELL, who wou'd needs forcibly thrust

him

him out of the Church in the midst of his divine Service; tho the one fail'd of his attempt, and the other came off with no more harm, than being call'd *Rogue* by the pious old women, said to look like one by the sage Alms-men, and hooted (as I heard) by some boys instead of learning their Catechism. But Mr. WHISTON may (next to God's providence) thank the good nature of the English people for his preservation: for in some other parts of the world he had, upon much fewer threats, and remonstrances from two Priests, not to speak of the pulling and hauling of their officer, been torn to pieces for all his gown and his innocence. For the rest, there never was a story better attested than that of HYPATIA, whether you consider the authority of her contemporaries SYNESIUS, SOCRATES, PHILOSTORGIUS, and DAMASCIUS; which last, if not her schoolfellow, was certainly her father's scholar: or whether you consider the subsequent accounts of PHOTIUS, SUIDAS, HESYCHIUS, NICEPHORUS *Callistus*, NICEPHORUS *Gregoras*, and others; between whom there's scarce any variation, and not the least appearance of contradiction, either as to her inimitable character or her unparallel'd murder. It troubles not the Reader with what modern authors occasionally write to her advantage or discredit, since they can form no judgment but by the authorities I have us'd; and that every one therefore may do as much for himself, without being byas'd by the prepossessions or interested views of others.

III. MANGONEUTES, or the fourth *Dissertation*, I wrote in defense of another Treatise of mine, intitul'd NAZARENUS. For what design I compil'd this last, and what right I had to do it, is so fully set forth in the beginning of the first, that I need say but little of it here. The same apology holds good, as to my addressing MANGONEUTES to the Lord Bishop of London: who, I have reason to hope, will be as ready to procure me justice of those subjected to his government; as a Gentleman wou'd be sure to show his displeasure against a servant, that shou'd affront any man, for which he must be otherwise accountable himself. One of my Adversaries

12. See Mr. WHISTON's account of this affair in the *Political State* for the Month of February 1718-19.

ries has dedicated his book to his Lordship, another (not to insist here on the rest) is his domestic Chaplain; and consequently his servant, for all Mr. COLLIER wou'd make him the master, at least of a Layman. Both of 'em have not onely wilfully misrepresented, but directly bely'd me; particularly Dr. MANGEY, who not only in diverse instances makes me say things of which I never thought, but many things expressly contrary to what I have written, which must cause no small amazement to equitable readers: for as to others, who neither show themselves men if they will not hear both sides, nor Christians if they receive an accusation against any man without weighing his defense; for such, I say, I neglect their censure, as much as all others ought to despise them. That pragmatistical pertness, which is the individual concomitant of superficial reading; that nibbling at incidents, where solid argument wou'd break the teeth of smatterers; that railing which supplies the want of reason, and that malice which betrays the narrowness of Party, I leave to be collected from the examples I have mark'd: tho I have purposely overlook'd many more, being too mean for others or my own consideration; and a generous adversary wou'd think 'em unworthy his notice, were they all real mistakes. Nor wou'd I trouble the world with any kind of answer (having a nobler occupation for my thoughts and time) but as thereby a handle was given me, to add further proof and illustration to the subjects wherof I had been treating: for, as I hinted just now, I neither dreaded the judgement of such as wou'd read both sides; nor valu'd the opinion of such as might applaud my answerers, without ever seeing my book. But Dr. MANGEY, over and above his eternal chicanery and scolding, has manifested such shameful ignorance in profane and sacred history; as was fit his Patron, for his own reputation, shou'd know, who might be impos'd upon by his assuming and confident air. This will appear, in the first place, by what I have reply'd to his positive assertion, *that I falsely said it was the constant and general belief of the Mahometans, that the Pentateuch, the Psalms, the Gospel, and the Alcoran, constituted the foundation of their religion, and that some of 'em therefore call'd it the RELIGION OF THE FOUR BOOKS.* The passages which I have here added to those in NAZARENUS, for proof of these facts, may probably be acceptable to the curious; as I know my apology for RELAND and others, about
favoring

Doctor of Divinity shou'd be ignorant. He has farther recourse (as will be seen in MANGONEUTES) to a false or unscriptural derivation of the word, adopted by some moderns from the quaint conceits of certain venerable *Fathers*; and to support this criticism he quotes three or four writers, who visibly mean the *Old Testament Nazarites* or more properly *Nazirites*, whom in the same places they distinguish from the Christian *Nazarens* or *Nazareans*. Thus in the forg'd Letter of the no less forg'd LENTULUS, a president of Judea (forsooth) JESUS is represented ¹⁴ like a *Nazirite*, which I show he never was: and that consequently the Doctor's derivation of *Nazarean* from the ¹⁵ root of that word, and the allusions of others to it, are not merely precarious, but absolutely false. Haste will not permit me to make the remarks, that so naturally offer themselves, on some of his authors; among whom RICOLDUS (or RICHARD, if this name pleases better) is by the justly admir'd Dean of ¹⁶ Norwich, as well as by him, call'd *judicious*: by which I suppose the Dean meant less injudicious than such others, whose books are stuff'd with more fables and falsities, wherof nevertheless RICOLDUS has a competent share. One of his judicious arguments to prove the *Alcoran* not to be divine, is its being written in ¹⁷ verse; and then he denies that ever GOD spoke

¹⁴ Pili capitis ejus vinei coloris usque ad fundamentum aurium, sine radiatione et erecti, et a fundamento aurium usque ad humeros contorti ac lucidi, et ab humeris deorsum pendent, bifido vertice dispositi in morem Nazaræorum.

¹⁵ He must mean נִזָּר *Nazar* to separate, tho he has not express'd it, *Separavit*. whence נִזְרִי a *Nazirite* or *separated person*; whereas the root of Nazareth, and consequently of Nazaren, is נָצַר to ward or preserve; from *Custodivit*. whence Nazareth, by reason of its strong situation on a hill.

¹⁶ In the catalogue of *Authors* subjoin'd to his Life of MAHOMET and Letter to the Deists.

¹⁷ Neque stilum neque modum habet [*Alcoranum*] Legi divine similem, aut convenientem; est enim stilo rhythmicum, et assentatione plenum—Videmus enim in divina scriptura Deum loquentem cum MOYSE et cum aliis prophetis, et nunquam rhythmis vel versibus loquentem. MOYSIS autem Legem et Evangelium dicit MAHOMETES a Deo esse, et Deum illos libros MOYSE et CHRISTO dedisse: sed hi non sunt metrici vel rhythmici, et nullus aliorum prophetarum qui divinam vocem audiverunt;

spoke in this manner to any of the Prophets, or that any of the books of these are in verse, which stile even Philosophers, according to him, scorn to use: not considering the numerous examples to the contrary in the *Old Testament*, wherof several considerable books, besides intire songs and fragments in some of the rest, are undeniably in verse; without dwelling upon EMPEDOCLES, and a great many other poetical Philosophers. RICOLDUS likewise denies that MAHOMET cou'd be a Prophet for all the world, of which he gives this judicious reason (to produce no more of his choice observations) that he wrote onely in ¹⁸ *Arabic*; forgetting or not knowing, that the *New Testament* was written onely in *Greek*. I repeat on this occasion what I said in the Preface to NAZARENUS, that *I take care in general, not to overburthen my reader with citations of any sort; contenting my self to prove or illustrate my allegations, by no more authorities than are necessary: tho I often abound with others, which I judge needless, or reserve against answerers.* This the event has sufficiently prov'd, and notwithstanding my second discharge, I have still no scanty provision, with respect to all the subjects I have handl'd. Doctor MANGEY may go on to call them *gleanings*, and others by their thread-bare phrase of *borrow'd learning*, I readily confesse the charge: for I have glean'd and borrow'd them in three Univerlities wherof I have been actually a member, and in two others, where I have sojourn'd a considerable time for this very purpose, after the manner of the antient Philosophers; not to insist on those I have cursorily visited, nor all the pains I have taken out of them. I publish not these things out of vain glory, as every one may see; but in my own necessary vindication against the unfair or malicious suggestions of half-witted or half-learn'd Priestlings, who judge of others by themselves, the very worst rule that any can follow. 'Tis to the moderate, serious, and learned Divines, that I make my appeal; and not to such, who, tho they wou'd seem to know every thing, do in reality know very little. And

verunt, dicit Deum rhythmicè locutum; quod et sapientes, et philosophi homines: dedignantur. *Confutatio Legis Saracenicae, cap. 4.*

¹⁸ Dicit [MAHOMETES] se prophetam esse universalem; sed tamen Alcoranum Arabicis literis a Deo datum esse, neque ullam aliam linguam se scire praeter Arabicam. *Ibid. cap. 6.*

how

how shou'd they? when they seldom or never study any thing, but spend the small time that is left 'em from hunting after benefices, and paying a servil court to such as can dispose of them, in reading or talking politics, in visiting or caballing, in learning the arts of dress or the language of the theatre, and in supplying the want of all theological accomplishments with atheological zeal. Nevertheless, their pretence of defending the CHURCH, when no body attacks it, is commonly but an artificial passion (if I may speak so) politically counterfeited to impose on the vulgar, to gratify turbulent Statesmen and Clergymen, or to serve for a cover to their own envious and detracting humor.

IV. Mr. WOTTON, tis true, no more than some others I may chance to mention, is not directly concern'd in the answers that were made to NAZARENUS; but the ¹⁹ piece he formerly wrote against me not requiring any reply in my own opinion, or in that of better judges, the few passages I have instanc'd out of it now, are onely intended as pertinent examples of what I was showing where I quoted them: namely, *that some persons will not allow any man to be commended on any score, who disagrees with them in certain particulars; that whom they oppose in any one thing, they think themselves oblig'd to oppose in all other things; and that there is nothing, however improbable or false, they will not say without shame or remorse, in order to lessen or blacken their adversary.* Thus they are at pains to make themselves ridiculous, and to open a large field of triumph to their Antagonists. In taking notice of what Dr. BRETT (a person of distinguish'd parts and great sedateness) has offer'd against NAZARENUS, in the preface to his treatise of *Tradition necessary to explain and interpret the holy Scriptures*, my intention was, besides my own apology, to defend the first and best Protestants, against certain half-profess or whole-disguis'd Papists, who are for restoring Priesthood, Sacrifice, and Altars, justly thrown out of the Church at the Reformation; together with the superlative notions of Spiritual Ministers, Oil, Chrism, a mixture of Water in the Sacramental cup,

19 *A Letter to EUSERIA in answer to the LETTERS TO SERENA, printed for Mr. GOODWIN at the Queen's head, over against St. DUNSTON's Church in Fleetstreet.*

Prayers

Prayers and Oblations for the Dead, private Confession and authoritative Absolution, gorgeous Buffets and other vain decorations, frequent Bowings and Crossings, Cuts and pictures in pray'r books, especially in the public Offices often representing legendary fables. Nor cou'd I forget their invalidating Christian ordinances, administer'd by persons not Episcopally ordain'd; their unchurching thus, and consequently unchristianing, the greater part of Protestants to gratify Papists. To these might be added, their rebelliously incroaching on the power of the Magistrate, by their pretended Independency of the Church on the State: and finally, their impiously setting themselves up instead of GOD, by claiming whatever was dedicated to his service tho ever so unwarrantably or idolatrously; as the restoration of the Churchlands (for example) in the times of Popery, which right was modestly pleaded by some of their predecessors, who never wanted a pretext for accumulating, to seize on the endowments for supporting the Heathen Temples and supplying the sacrifices of Demons. Too little has been said about these matters by some learned persons in high stations, of whom better things were expected; and they ought not to take it amiss if they are suspected of the same designs, till they act with more honesty and openness in this affair, or at least till they show a better countenance to those of their order that do so: for this Free and Protestant state will not suffer it self to be enslav'd, either by ambitious seducers or superstitious sophisters, under any pretence whatsoever. Our Governors are too clear sighted, to be cheated out of their senses, out of their power and interest, by English any more than by Italian Popery. My account of the LITURGY, publish'd by some of the new separatists, is mostly in the very words of the same, and no where differing from its sense. Dr. BRETT, by a very singular paradox, makes my referring people to the Law and to the Testimony, to the New Testament and to that alone for doctrine and discipline, to be a plot for undermining and blowing up Christianity. So I remember father PAUL (in one of his Letters) tells us, that the

Letter 15. POPE, complaining of *Fra FULGENTIO*, said, *that preaching of the Scriptures is a suspicious thing; and that he, who keeps close to the Scriptures, will ruin the Catholic faith.* In the very next Letter, the POPE's more explicit words of him were, *that indeed he made some good Sermons,*

Sermons, but bad ones withal; and that he insisted too much upon Scripture; which is a book, said the pretended head of Christians, to which if any keeps close, he will quite ruin the Catholic Faith. And for certain he will, I mean the faith so deem'd by the Church of Rome, and likewise all those fine things I have observ'd in the late-coin'd English Liturgy; for which there is not any color of warrant in the *New Testament*, whatever may be in the old *Fathers*. For this reason of advancing any thing as a part of Christianity, or besides or against the authority of the books of the *New Testament*, I have always declar'd (I go not about to deny it) a sovereign contempt for most of the *Fathers*; as well as for other very material causes, regarding their Integrity, their knowledge, and certain other disqualifying qualifications. Not above three of the Grec *Fathers* of the four first centuries (if I may strictly allow so many) knew any thing of the original Hebrew; and the Latin *Fathers*, no greater number excepted, understood as little either of that or the original Grec. Yet, in spite of common sense, these must be the best interpreters of *Scripture*; as the *Councils* made up of such, must be the fittest men to make unalterable decisions and Canons, with dire *anathemas* against all Dissenters, tho masters in Jerusalem and Athens. Those *Fathers* succeeded accordingly. For, by sounds, allusions, similes, accommodations, and such other precarious methods (as supposing the point in question, or arguing from erroneous concessions) without ever attending to the scope of the place, or the true import of the words of *Scripture*, they made any thing out of every thing, and every thing out of any thing. So fanciful people see what forms they please in the Clouds, and learn wise lessons out of the melodious sound of bells. This may do tolerably well still, in a preachment to daylaborers and old women; but will run some risk of examination, and be apt to occasion a little mirth, if us'd in books of Controversy, or in a *Sermon* before a learned auditory, except they be all in black cloaths. 'Tis mere illusion, errant sophistry to say (as we'll show in its due place) that the *Fathers* having liv'd nearer than we to the times of the Apostles, they are therefore better interpreters of *Scripture*. To what degree their authority reaches, is not agreed by their advocates. They are at least the best explainers of discipline and worship, according

to the reverend and learned Dr. HARE; who ²⁰ affirms that *tho the Scripture be 'a perfect rule of faith, he must never have look'd into it, who's capable of thinking it a perfect rule of worship, I mean* (says he) *as to external worship and discipline: but he that will take the writings of the primitive Church* (adds the same) *as* ²¹ *A SUPPLEMENT TO THE SCRIPTURES in these points, cannot be at a loss to know what are the powers of Church-Governors, or what the obedience due to them.* IGNATIUS alone may do well enough for this last darling particular.

- Page 118. Dr. MANGEY, after those he admires, thinks *the doctrine of the Church the best comment upon Scripture*, even as to points of faith: and Dr. BRETT does every where make the primitive *Fathers* not onely the best interpreters both of Faith and Discipline; but also necessary guides, without whose writings and traditions the *New Testament* it self wou'd be quite unintelligible. Notwithstanding these authorities, or those of much antienter and more sonorous names, I still retain the same dislike and disregard for the *Fathers*; for which I shall soon give reason sufficient, fact abundant, in the *Treatise of Tradition* which I mention in the 209th page of MANGO-NEUTES. I dare be pritty confident, I am not the man Dr. HARE had principally in his eye, when, occasionally mentioning the antient writers of the Church,
- Ubi supra,
Page 41. he says that *those contemners who never read them, and therefore express so much content to excuse their ignorance.* Yet I can with great truth affirm, that, having been destin'd to the study of Theology (which I diligently prosecuted, till I arriv'd at the state of *standing fast in that Liberty, wherewith CHRIST has made us free*) I have, for my own or other men's sins, read all the *Fathers* ascrib'd to the three first centuries with much application, some of 'em more than once or twice; and that, besides the profest Historians, I have look'd not perfunctorily for as many other centuries into the rest, who deviated more and more from the simplicity of the *Gospel*, tho some of 'em exceded the Learning of their predecessors. This
- Gal. 5. 1.

²⁰ CHURCH-AUTHORITY VINDICATED, in a *visitation Sermon* preach'd at Putney, May 5. 1719: page 29. *prim. edit.*

²¹ This puts me in mind of the CODICIL in the Tale of a Tub.

is so far from being said out of any ostentation, that many on the contrary, who are no ill judges of men or things, will apply the words of the Apostle PAUL to me; that if *I must needs glory, I will glory of the things, which concern mine infirmities.* Now let the study of the *Fathers* be disreputable or otherwise, since Doctors differ as they say: tis undoubtedly for understanding them too well (at least in my own opinion, which is the most that any one has for his reading) and not for having neglected to peruse their writings, assisted by all necessary helps, that I entertain so mean an opinion of them, either as good interpreters of the *Scripture*, or as sure guides in *Religion*. Dr. BRETT seems to acknowledge so much, when he says that *I made a difficulty of matters, thro want of will rather than want of light.* Consonant to this verdict pronounces Mr. WOTTON, tho not with mere respect to the *Fathers*, *It seems by those Letters* (speaking of those to SERENA) *that he knows where the truth lyes in every particular; and if that will not convince him, how can I?* How indeed? For I assure him, that I shall strait veil my bonnet to TRUTH, wherever she appears to me as such: and that in those *Letters* I asserted nothing, but what I maturely concluded to be true. I wou'd desire Dr. HARE and Dr. BRETT to believe the same thing of me, in what concerns my judgment of the *Fathers*: for I shall never be damn'd for wilful ignorance, however I may be mistaken after my best endeavors, which may as well be their own case. But I will never allow that I am actually mistaken, because I possibly may be so: which is the silly sophism of the Sceptics, on the one hand; and, on the other, of such as wou'd dogmatically subject REASON to AUTHORITY.

Pref.
Page 16.

Ubi supra
Page 73.

V. I MADE an appeal before, and I make one here again, to all moderate, serious, and learned Divines not byass'd, whether I have ever shown by any of my writings that I am an enemy to Religion, tho avowedly so to Superstition. Religion pure and perfect, as it was originally taught, without the corrupt additions and alterations of ignorant or interested persons, I both profess and recommend, as will appear (to refer to no other books) from the conclusion of this very volum. I never wrote a syllable against any one Article of the *Church of England* in particular, tho several of my accusers have broach'd

many odd or perillous whimsies against most of them; as if they claim'd a privilege to say any thing tho ever so extravagant, and that others may not say what in duty they ought. O but you are an enemy to *Priests*, say their implicit tools: and I answer, that *Christian priests* in the literal sense I acknowledge none, nor any other *Sacrifices* but those of prayer and thanksgiving, offer'd on the *Altar* of the heart; whether by every one in private, or by all in public, devoutly joining with the person who makes a common prayer in their name, be it conceiv'd or a set form. Such Pastors, such Ministers of the Congregation, lawfully ordain'd to this function and duly qualify'd, exclusively of all confusion in the public worship, tho every Christian be figuratively both a king and a priest, I respect and highly approve. So I do also approve of *National Churches*, with which I hold *tolerated Churches* to be very consistent; tho under no incapacities in civil affairs, *Persecution* (which is suffering of any degree or kind on the account of mere opinion) not being from GOD, but the certain mark of a false Church, at least in this point. The sworn enemies to these free sentiments, who set up for Priesthood properly so call'd, are they who decry every man, that gives fair warning of the Dominion they are laboring to erect, or that manfully opposes it. To the designs of these adversaries of civil and religious Liberty, I frankly declare my self an enemy. Nor do I wonder they shou'd pretend Religion, or the Church to be in danger, *to the end that all men*, as has been by some body justly observ'd, *may be thus like so many soldiers listed in their cause: whereas, if they show'd their private interest, few or none wou'd venture in their quarrel.* He's a Heretic that presumes to differ from them about any thing, and he that along with them will not halloo the Heretic they have made, run down his doctrine without knowing it, misrepresent his reasons or suppress them, attribute to him the worst of consequences tho absolutely disown'd, and make him pass for a man of loose actions or impious notions: he, I say, that will not join in this cry, is presently himself suspected, his reputation is blasted; as one that does not favor their projects, and whose equity or moderation exposes their conduct. They are conscious of their own artifices, and so much haunted by their guilt, that they find themselves where they were never put. If a Man does but compile a political Romance, built altogether upon Heathen ideas, and mostly in
the

the very terms of the antients; they presently imagine that their *Palladium* is stol'n and profan'd by some new U-
 LYSSES, who designs to subvert their Troy. They de-
 claim against human reason, not, as they hypocritically
 pretend, to make men submit to GOD's word, which
 reason will always persuade; but to subject them to their
 own authority, and arbitrarily to dispose of their belief.
 When once their disciples are brought to this pitch of obe-
 dience, they are then taught, *not to mind so much in mat-
 ters of Religion what is said, as who it is that says it;*
 which maxim was impudently defended by Father
²² STAPLETON, and is practically countenanc'd by some
 nominal Protestants. Hence that magisterial air they as-
 sume, as if they were another species of men. Briefly,
 I oppose no Ecclesiastics among us, but such as in all re-
 gards resemble those of the West Indians. *Their Powaws
 or Priests* (says the reverend ²³ Mr. NEAL) *are a subtle
 generation of men, ambitious, cruel, greedy of riches, grasp-
 ing at an absolute power and dominion over the people, from
 whom they require a profound respect and reverence; as per-
 sons who have a familiar acquaintance with the Deity, and
 who, by their blessings and cursings, can make men happy
 or miserable in a future state.* Let Mr. LEWIS, who,
 in his *Historical Essay upon the Consecration of Churches*, Pref. page
 calls me *the great Advocate of Mahomet and Presbytery* ^{22.}
 (as another of the sanctify'd Buffoons and Merry Andrews
 gives me the title of *Mahomet's Solicitor General*) let him
 and his fellows say, that this is *discharging my posson on* Ibid.
the Clergy; the contrary will be evident to all that can dis-
 tinguish between the good and the bad, the sober and the
 debauch'd, the pious and the wicked, the learned and the
 ignorant, the Pastor and the Priest, the Protestant and the
 Papist, the friends of the Government and its enemies.
 They are in reality the most venomous antagonists of the
Church of England that I oppose, however some of 'em
 may conceal themselves under her mantle, that they may
 have the better opportunity of stinging her to death.

In loca Serpentum nos venimus.

The aim of these in dispute, is not to reclaim but to de-

²² In doctrina Religionis non quid dicatur, sed quis loquatur, attendendum est. *Defens. Ecclesiastic. auctoritat. lib. 3. cap. 7. & Demonstrat. principior. doctrinal. lib. 10. cap. 5.*

²³ *History of New-England*, vol. 1. page 55.

stroy: instead of a lance to cure, they bring a dagger to kill. As for any clamor they may raise, I shall not be in the least disquieted about it, seldom letting any of their flowers be lost: tis what I expect of course, and a diversion to which I am tolerably well accusom'd. Neither do I value any company or assembly of such persons, when I perceive no reason to fear any one of them singly, or to be shy of coping with him. The contrary disposition wou'd be to think, that a club of artificers jointly cou'd finish some extraordinary piece of work, when every one of 'em severally was a ²⁴ bungler. Tis long since I have made it a maxim to my self, that *as ERROR and FALSHOOD may be confuted as well by one man, as by one thousand; so REASON and TRUTH have no more to fear from one thousand, than from one man.* So long as I obey the laws of my country, which shall ever be sacred to me, I have nothing to fear (how little soever I may get) for making what inquiries, discoveries, or improvements I may be able, whether in letters or otherwise: nor am I apprehensive that the ill offices of Bigots, who wou'd gladly make their opposers starve, according to their laudable custom in all ages, can be any obstruction to my fortune; as not being ambitious of either rank or title, nor desirous of any place or preferment. The vanity of such uncertain possessions I despise, as much as I abhor the dependence they unavoidably create. Let those who form other ideas of things, and who have not thoroly reflected on the caprices of fortune, suppose what they please; I wou'd not exchange that LIBERTY, for which I have been ever strenuously pleading on my own behalf, and that of my fellow creatures, for the highest dignities and distinctions in the world. NATURE IS CONTENT WITH A LITTLE, and he wants least who has fewest desires, or keeps the strongest control over his passions. Books and bread enough, with select company in an agreeable Retirement, give that solid satisfaction, which is fruitlessly expected from the scraping or hording of treasure, from solicitously counting or profusely spending it. Wherefore I prefer the innocent amusements of the country (where alone real pleasures are

24 An quidquam stultius, quàm, quos singulos, sicut operarios barbarosque, contemnas, eos aliquid future esse universos? Cic. *Tusc. Disput. lib. 5. cap. 36.*

best enjoy'd) its frugal but salubrious diet, the purity of the air, the charms of the earth and water, and the tranquillity of my walks unconfin'd as my thoughts, to all the pomp and delicate entertainments of the Court, to all the wealth and splendid hurry of the City.

Φοῖβα δ' ἐνθα καὶ ἐνθα διαροπνία πυκνά,
 Ἀλλοῖς μὲν ρειθροῖσιν ἐφελκομένῳ μαλακοῖσιν;
 Ἀλλοῖς δ' αὖ πέρησιν ἐν ἡλιβαλοῖσι δισίχηναι,
 Ἀκρῆσιν κορυφῇν μηλοσκοποῖν εἰσαναβαίνων.

There I shall contribute my best endeavors for the good of mankind, and never do any thing to disturb the public peace, which is the nurse of the common welfare: for the *Peace* which the Deceivers mean, is a stupid and listless resignation of mens understanding to others, who undertake to think for them. For this reason these Undertakers are against all examination, lest their own thoughts shou'd be found bad or little worth; and so men shou'd not pay them wages to think for them, when they might think perhaps much better for themselves. The true Divine, who's ever as true a Patriot, acts quite the reverse of all this; appealing to mens understanding for the truth of whatever he proposes to their belief or practice; and constantly exhorting them to use their Reason, to stand in defence of their Religion and Liberty, against all spiritual or temporal usurpations. To draw towards a conclusion, I own as much as any one, that the abuse of a thing ought not to take away the use of it: tho an excess on the one hand, has often thrown people into an excess on the other hand. Nor is *Divinity* the only profession that has suffer'd in this manner, as may be learnt from the following old *Poem*; which tho very plain both in the stile and measure, is yet nicely epigrammatical, and contains a beautiful *Climax*.

The TRIPLE PLEA.

LA W, PHYSICK, and DIVINITY,
*Being in dispute, cou'd not agree
 To settle, which among them three
 Shou'd have the Superiority.*

*LAW pleads he does preserve men's lands,
 And all their goods from rav'nous hands:*

Therefore

*Therefore of right challenges he,
To have the Superiority.
PHYSICK prescribes receipts for health,
Which men preferr before their wealth :
Therefore of right challenges he,
To have the Superiority.
Then strait steps up the PRIEST demure,
Who of men's Souls takes care and cure :
Therefore of right challenges he,
To have the Superiority.*

*If JUDGES end this TRIPLE PLEA,
The LAWYERS shall bear all the sway.
If EMPIRICS their verdict give,
PHYSICIANS best of all will thrive.
If BISHOPS arbitrate the case,
The PRIESTS must have the highest place.
If HONEST, SOBER, WISE MEN judge,
Then ALL THE THREE away may trudge.*

*For let men live in peace and love,
The LAWYERS tricks they need not prove.
Let them forbear excess and riot,
They need not feed on DOCTOR'S diet.
Let them attend what GOD does teach,
They need not care what PARSONS preach.
But if men FOOLS and KNAVES will be,
They'll be asse-ridden by ALL THREE.*

I shall add no more, but that having intended to print the substance of the fourth *Dissertation* above a year since, together with the *Treatise of Tradition*, which last upon second thoughts is delay'd for some months; I judg'd the other wou'd come time enough, at the end of the three *Dissertations* which I now send into the world. With relation to the whole work, I have in the inner margin inserted the originals of all the citations of the first and last pieces; which, as to the second and third, cou'd not be done, without making the Notes near as large as the Text. But the places where they occur in the books, out of which I have extract'd them, are so distinctly mark'd; that they will be readily found by any, who has a mind to verify them.

From under an Elm in Bensbury (or CNEBEN's camp) on the Warren at the south end of Wimbledon Common. M.DCC.XX.

H O D E G U S.

O R, T H E

Pillar of *Cloud* and *Fire*,

T H A T

Guided the I S R A E L I T E S in the
Wilderness, not Miraculous:

B U T A

Thing equally practis'd by other nations;
and in those places not only
useful but necessary.

PERTICAM, quae undique conspici posset, supra PRAETORIUM statuit; ex qua SIGNUM eminebat pariter omnibus conspicuum. Observabatur IGNIS noctu, FUMUS interdiu. QUINT. CURT. lib. 5. cap. 2.

L O N D O N, Printed in the YEAR 1720.





H O D E G U S :

O R,

*The Pillar of Cloud and Fire
not Miraculous.*

I.



HAVE often wonder'd why many persons, deservedly famous for their literature and politeness, have in a manner expressly neglected the History of the most ancient and famous nation of the Jews; while they bestow'd abundance of pains, and show'd no less discernment, in their inquiries concerning the Grecian, the Roman, and other Antiquities. The reason at first I thought to have been the small extent of the Jewish territories, the sterility of their warlike exploits (in comparison of those nations I have mention'd) with their ignorance of arts and useful inventions : ungrateful subjects for pleasure or instruction. But how just soever this censure

may be of the Jews in certain particulars, yet their affairs were at all times intimately link'd, either with those of the Egyptians, or the Assyrians, or the Persians, or the Phenicians, or the Arabians; which were Nations, wherof some yielded not to the Greeks for Learning, but rather exceded them in that as well as in Commerce, others of 'em equall'd the Romans in feats of Arms no less than in the arts of Government, and all of 'em went farr beyond both the Greeks and the Romans in point of Antiquity: not to say that the Jews in process of time had, as every one knows, matters of the greatest concern to transact with these same Greeks and Romans, to whom they were likewise subjects or tributaries in their turns. Strange therefore they shou'd be so much neglected!

II. BUT Experience taught me at last, that the true reason why Judea has lain thus uncultivated by the Laity, is the Clergy's wholly ingrossing that province for a long time to themselves, on the improvement of which they laid out neither sufficient labor nor expence. This has made a soil appear very barren, that is otherwise fruitful enough, and capable to reward the industry of a judicious Critic. Now as some nations, the better to preserve their Mines to themselves, reported they were haunted by frightful dragons, or infested with noxious vapors: so those Clergymen proceeded with no less art, and they often us'd violence, to deterr others from the study of the antient Jewish books. They made it sacrilege so much as to peep into them, without their licence. They gave out that the reading of them wou'd turn men's heads, and fill them with strange fancies. Nay we all know, that at length they quite and clean extorted them out of the hands

hands of the Laity for many ages. And tho, since LUTHER's time, those of the northern regions of Europe, have forcibly recover'd them back again into promiscuous use: yet they must still for the most part read them with the spectacles of their own Priests, and guess at their meaning by certain rules of these Priest's framing (not to their own disadvantage to be sure) call'd *Systems* and *Formularies*, to which all things are to be necessarily reduc'd, wiredrawn, and accommodated, both as to matter and expression. These are excellent expedients to meditate without ideas, to speak without thinking, and to know all that's in the BIBLE without reading a word of it. But nothing has so much contributed to create an aversion in generous spirits against the study of the *Old Testament*, as a persuasion taken up implicitly from their childhood, that it is thro'out a scene of Incomprehensibles, and a complete system of Miracles; which they conceive to be no proper subject of Criticism, nor an ample field for Philosophical disquisitions. And tis indeed amazing, to consider the force of Education in this case. Miracles no doubt are there related, yet comparatively very few. I speak with too much caution, when I affirm not one third part to be Miracles in the *Pentateuch* (for example) of what are commonly thought to be such, and so in proportion of the other books. To avoid all ambiguity or logomachy, I mean that the writers of those books have neither recorded such things for Miracles themselves, nor intended they shou'd be so understood by others.

III. NOW I expect that people will presently call for examples, as the only adequate proofs of this assertion. The demand is extremely rea-

sonable, and I readily acknowledge my self oblig'd to answer it. Tis sufficiently known that I have already promis'd *THE COMMONWEALTH OF MOSES*, which of all forms I think the most excellent and perfect. But I shall give so new a turn and face (yet the genuin and the true) not onely to the whole political System, as well as to several of the particular Laws of this incomparable Legislator: but likewise to so many of the circumstances and historical incidents of the abridg'd, and therefore in diverse respects obscure, relation of the *Pentateuch*; that I find it highly necessary to publish before-hand some short Specimen of my undertaking, were it but to prevent surprize, and to accustom my readers to such sort of explications. The subject of the Specimen I chuse at present is but circumstantial, and particularly concerns *the Pillar of Cloud and Fire* so frequently mention'd in the *Old Testament*; and scarce ever mention'd by others but as a stupendous Prodigy, if not the greatest and most durable of all Miracles. Wherefore I prove in this present *Dissertation*, by reasons and matters of fact equally undeniable, that it was a Pillar of *Smoke*, and not a real *Cloud*, that guided the Israelites in the wilderness; and that they were not two (as by most believ'd) but one and the same Pillar, directing their march with the *Cloud* of its *Smoke* by day, and with the *Light* of its *Fire* by night. For a greater illustration of my subject, I further show there was no manner of Prodigy in this affair, and that FIRE was us'd to the same purposes by other oriental nations: not moving among the Jews, no more than among those, of its own ac-

1. See *Nazarenes*, in the *Appendix* to Letter I.

cord or miraculously, as tis no less needlessly than absurdly imagin'd; but carry'd in proper machines of mere human contrivance, which might well be call'd *ambulatory Beacons*.

• IV. THE reason of such a *portable Fire* is this. In countries well inhabited the route of Armies, tho extending ever so large in front for the convenience of forage or ways, is mark'd by millitary stones or posts, by rivers, hills, cities, villages, castles, and other remarkable places: so that they know by their orders how farr they may stretch, and where again to come closer together to form one camp or body. But in vast and unpractis'd desarts, without any edifices at all, without noted hills, frequent rivers, or even the ruins of antient buildings, there is a necessity of a visible Guide preceding the main body, whereby the wings may order their march, and keep within a commodious distance; so as not to straggle, or any of 'em be lost, and to know in an instant when the Army halts or incamps. Now, there's no mute sign in the world can perform this at all times, but FIRE alone; since the *Cloud* of its *Smoke* is (as every body knows) seen very farr by day, as the *Light* of its *Flame* is no less conspicuous by night. I say *at all times*, because in desarts of moving sands, wherof there be many in Africa, with not a few in Asia, Armies or Caravans marching thro them, were forc'd to do so onely in the night time; not purely to avoid the scorching heat of the Sun, becoming intolerable by reflecting from the sand: but likewise because all precedent tracks being usually swept away or fill'd up by the blowing of strong winds, they had no marks to guide them; and therefore they steer'd (as we may say) by the Starrs,

only visible at night. Thus ² SILIUS ITALICUS describes the Ambassadors of HANNIBAL, sent to consult the Oracle of JUPITER AMMON, travelling only in the night thro the immense deserts of Africa; because they cou'd not otherwise be guided by the North Pole, nor by certain other noted Starrs. ³ LUCAN, ⁴ PLINY, and many more confirm the same thing of those places. The Passages are too long to be produced intire: and therefore we shall content our selves, omitting an host of authors, with what ⁵ QUIN-

2. Ad finem coeli medio tenduntur ab ore
 Squalentes campi. Tumulum natura negavit
 Immenſis ſpatijs, niſi quem cava nubila torquens
 Conſtruxit Turbo, impactâ glomeratus arena:
 Vel, ſi perfracto populatus carcere terras
 Africus, aut pontum ſpargens per æquora Corus,
 Invaſere truces capientem prælia campum,
 Inque vicem ingeſto cumularunt pulvere montes.
 Haſ obſervatis valles enavimus Aſtris:
 Namque dies confundit iter, peditemque profundo
 Errantem campo, & ſemper media arva videntem,
 Sidonijs Cynofura regit fidiffima nautis.

Lib. 3. prope finem.

3. Qui nullas videre domos, videre ruinas:
 Jamque iter omne latet; nec ſunt discrimina terræ
 Ulla, niſi Aetheriæ medio velut æquore flammæ.
 Sideribus novere vias: nec Sidera tota
 Oſtendit Libyæ finitor circulus oræ,
 Multaque devexo terrarum margine celat.

Lib. 9. ver. 494 &c.

4. Et terra autem Siderum obſervatione, ad eam per deſerta arenis perſequentes, iter eſt. *Lib. 4. cap 5. Videantur STRABO, DIO-*
DORUS, ARRIANUS, SOLIN. AELIAN. MART. CAPELL. PLUTARCH,
reliqui.

5. Magnam deinde partem ejuſdem terræ ſteriles Arenæ tenent, Squalida ſiccitate regio non hominem, non frugem alit. Quum verò venti a Pontico mari ſpirant, quicquid ſabuli in campis jacet convertunt; quod, ubi cumulatum eſt, magnorum collium procul ſpecies eſt, omniaque priſtini itineris veſtigia intereunt. Itaque qui tranſeunt campos, navigantium modo Sidera obſervant, ad quorum curſum iter dirigunt; & propemodum clarior eſt noctis umbra, quàm lux. Ergo interdiu invia eſt regio, quia nec veſtigium, quod ſequantur, inveniunt; & nitor Siderum caligine abſconditur.

Lib. 7. cap. 4.

TUS CURTIUS writes of the Bactrian desarts in Asia. *A great part of that Country (says he) is cover'd by barren sands : and being parch'd by heat, neither affords nourishment for men nor for vegetables. But when the winds blow from the Pontic sea, they sweep before them all the sands that ly on the plains ; which, when heap'd together, show a-farr off like great mountains, while all footsteps of former travellers are quite abolish'd. Wherefore such as pass over those plains, do, like Seamen, observe the Starrs in the night, by whose motion they steer their course ; the shade of the night being there almost clearer than the day. And therefore this region by day is unpassable, because men find no tracks to follow, and that the Starrs are then invisable. But now the Compass renders such places practicable by day, as we are just going to see.*

V. IN other desarts not so sandy, where tracks remain for some time, being likewise here and there inhabited ; and where men, that have long liv'd or been bred in them, know the ways, there the passage is easier : but yet for a great multitude there must be, as we said, some visible Guide preceding the main body ; wherby the rest may know what distance to keep, where to stop, and when to procede. Nor is it unworthy our notice, that the invention of the Compass has prov'd beneficial to passengers on the land, as well as to those on the sea : for by this means people may now travel over those desarts by day, which they cou'd not do before but by night. *In most parts of Arabia (says ⁶ RAMUZZI) we*

6. In plerisque Arabiae locis itinera fecimus ope Compassi, & 40 diebus ac noctibus occupati fuimus, iter faciendo inter Damascum & Mecham.

travell'd by the help of the Compass ; and spent forty days and forty nights, in going from Damascus to Mecca. RAWOLF also, in his *Itinerary of Syria*, affirms, that the 7 Guides of the Caravans, thro the sandy desarts, direct their way by the Compass, as Pilots do their course at sea. So that travellers by land (says * Dr. Hyde, after quoting these Passages) cou'd not always find the right way over the vast plains of the wilderness, without the guidance of the magnetic Needle. For in the East there are no posts or landmarks set up in those desarts ; but all the paths, if any such there were, are every moment cover'd by moving sands, in which you look in vain for firm ground : while quite around you there appears nothing, but a certain appearance of water, call'd Serab ; deceiving the eyes, and deluding thirsty passengers with the hopes of finding drink, for which they sometimes go out of their way. It wou'd be superfluous to allege more testimonies for a thing so well known, and in present use, all voyages being full of such accounts.

VI. NEVERTHELESS, where the desert happen'd to be ever so well known to some men, who cou'd serve for Guides to the rest, and when there was also a necessity of travelling by night as well as by day ; there a FIRE elevated by art, as it could not fail of appearing a great

7. Viarum duces per arenosa deserta vias suas dirigunt per Compassum, eodem modo quo pilotae faciunt per mare.

8. Adeo ut ne quidem, per terram itinerantibus, semper liceret vastissima desertorum latifundia recto tramite peragere, absque Acus magneticae directione. Nam in Oriente, per invia solitudinum acquora, nulli sunt viarum cippi ; sed omnes, si qui fuerant, quovis momento operiunt mobiles arenae, in quibus firma terra frustra oculis perquiritur : & totum circuitum ambit nil, nisi visum perstringens ὁ δροσάβη, Serab dicta ; quae siticulosos viatores saepe aquarum spe deludit, & e via seducit. *De Relig. vet. Pers. pagg. 495, 496.*

way off in the night-time by its *Flame*, and in the day-time by its *Smoke* : so, according to the signals and orders given to the Army, they cou'd know when to march or to halt, as it mov'd or as it rested; and how long to continue in one place, as this fire was to be fixt over the General's tent, or to prepare for a march, when it was taken down from thence. That *the Pillar of Cloud and Fire* was of this sort, I am now going to show according to my promise. Yet in doing this I sincerely protest, what the event will demonstrate to the most Sceptical, that my design is as much to do Justice to MOSES, whom I cannot too often repeat how much I venerate : as to clear up a matter of fact in a most antient book, on the credibility of which our holy Religion is founded; and which an inquirer into obsolete customs and manners, even among the greatest Infidels, will own to deserve explication no less than HERODOTUS or LIVY. I likewise promise, that I shall by no means impose upon my readers, by the art of certain men (whose profession obliges them to use none) in making every thing of any thing, and any thing of nothing : that is, by having recourse from the literal to the allegorical, from the allegorical to the tropological, and from the tropological to the anagogical sense of *Scripture*. These finesses, not to be indur'd in explaining the profanest author, I detest and despise; especially us'd in a book we hold to be sacred, and which least needs them of all others : nor is it in truth to palliate any thing in the book, that these squeezing engines are fram'd; but to find that in it which is not there, or, tho it be there, to alter the true meaning of it, if not quite to deny the fact. Nay, if the *Scripture* did not bear me out, I shou'd not be over-forward in resting
any

any where upon Metaphors, tho common to all languages: for the original Names of things being few, the rest are necessarily coin'd from similitude, or by comparison.

VII. THUS, not to leave the subject before us for examples, *Flame* and *Smoke*, naturally ascending, are thence call'd *Pillars*; as not onely *Smoke*, but even *Dust*, is very significantly call'd a *Cloud*. QUINTUS CURTIUS uses the Phrase of ⁹ a *Cloud of dust, that mounted up to the sky*: and, by a bolder figure, we read of a *Cloud of*
 Heb. 12. 1. *witnesses* in the *Epistle to the Hebrews*. Even Water is call'd a *Pillar*. PLINY describing a Spout, which is often seen at Sea, says, 'tis call'd
¹⁰ a *Pillar, when the Water condensing, and standing upright, is sustain'd by itself*. For the like reason LUCRETIVS compares a certain fiery
 Hensng Wind or Tempest by the Greeks call'd *Prester*, to ¹¹ a *Pillar descending from the sky*. The *thick*
 Ezek. 8. *Cloud of incense* in *Ezekiel* none, I suppose, will
 11. & 10. deny to be a *Cloud of smoke*; since incense can no o-
 4. therwise form such a cloud, but by its smoke when burning. After JOSHUA had got Ai set on fire by a stratagem, and that it is said *the Smoke of the*
 Jos. 8. 20, *city ascended up to heaven*, I hope no body will say,
 21. but it might then be justly compar'd both to a *Pillar* and to a *Cloud*. Yet lest any shou'd, out of perverseness or ignorance, deny a thing so evident, we find express mention made in the *Old Testament* of *Pillars of smoke*. When Gibeah

9. Nubes pulveris, quae ad coelum ferebatur. Lib. 4. cap. 15. Item lib. 5. cap. 13.

10 Vocatus & *Columna*, cum Spissatus humor, rigensque, ipse se sustinet. Hist. Nat. lib. 2. cap. 50.

11. Nam fit, ut interdum, tanquam demissa *Columna*

In mare de coelo descendat, &c. Lib. 6. ver. 425, 432.

was long after set on fire, *the Flame thereof did* Jud. 20.
arise with a Pillar of smoke. Here you have at 40.
 once both a Pillar of smoke and fire. *Who is*
this, says the love-sick Bride in the *Canticles*
 (which by the way is the oldest *Pastoral* now ex-
 tant in the world, where, besides the Bride and
 Bridegroom, the Chorus of the Daughters of Je-
 rusalem bears a considerable part) *who is this that*
comes out of the wilderness, like Pillars of smoke? Cant. 3. 6.
 alluding to the myrrh, incense, and powders,
 with which the longing Bridegroom was per-
 fum'd. JOEL has also *Pillars of smoke*, in as Joel 2. 39.
 plain words as I write them here. And lest any
 mortal might, after so many glaring instances,
 deny the *Cloud* to have been *Smoke*, we have
 ISAIAH prophesying of the restoration of Isra-
 el, and positively explaining the word *Cloud* by
 the word *Smoke*, when he alludes to the guiding
Cloud in the Wilderness. *And the LORD,* says he, Isa. 4. 5:
will create upon every dwelling place of mount Sion,
and upon her Assemblies a Cloud, and Smoke by
day, and the Shining of a flaming Fire by night. He
 must wilfully shut his eyes, who can resist this
 light; whether of *flaming Fire* by night, or of a
Cloud of smoke by day. These passages I have
 produc'd to show, that as the literal sense of
Fire and *Smoke*, any more than that of other words,
 ought never to have been abandon'd without a
 manifest necessity; so to prove further, that the
 words *Pillar* and *Cloud* did infer no such neces-
 sity, being very common and proper expressions
 for things ever ascending, if not violently diver-
 ted from their natural tendency: and that ther-
 fore if the *Pillar of Cloud and Fire*, which makes
 our subject, be otherwise understood than of or-
 dinary *Fire* and *Smoke*, such an interpretation
 must needs be grounded on certain circumstances
 not possible to be so understood, and such as never
 happen'd

happen'd in the course of Nature, neither before nor since.

VIII. TO know whether this be so or no, after calling to mind what we said before about the manner of Armies or Caravans passing thro' vast deserts, antiently by the guidance of the Starrs, and more lately by that of the Compass; let us observe, that when the Israelites went out of Egypt, they amounted not onely to the number of six hundred thousand men, besides women and children, and a mixt multitude that follow'd them: but that under the conduct of MOSES their General then, and soon after their Legislator, they march'd in military order, and were to all intents and purposes an Army. This I necessarily gather from several places of the *Pentateuch*, where they are said to have gone out of Egypt *by their Armies*, and *with a high hand*. But, from a certain place in *Exodus*, we may even guess at the order of their march, namely, in five columns: for the word that is there render'd in our English translation *harnessed*, the learned in the Hebrew tongue will find to signify ¹² *by fives*. But let this be as it will, that some such order they observ'd is manifest, from their being said

Exod. 12.
37, 38.

Ibid. 6. 26.
& 12. 41.
51. & 14. 8.
Num. 33.
1, &c.

Ibid. 13.
18.

חֲמִשָּׁה

12. There's nothing more certain, than that the plural חֲמִשָּׁה signifies *Fives*, and signifies this onely, if any regard be had to its radical חֲמִשָּׁה *five*: but some Rabbins, who cou'd perceive as little order out of their own brains as in them, explain this word by that of חֲמִשָּׁה prepar'd, or *girt* either for action or a journey; nor are we the onely People, who have rashly follow'd their authority. I cannot assent to what Monsieur Le CLERC writes on this place; and wonder he shou'd deny the Israelites went arm'd out of Egypt, considering the texts I bring here to prove it, and the several Princes and States they conquer'd, before their entring into the land of Canaan.

to march *by their Armies*; about whose extent in front, or number and depth of their lines, I shall not enter into a dispute with any man.

IX. THEIR first station was in Rameses, *Ibid.* 12.
 the second in Succoth, and the third in Etham. 37. &c. 13.
 Hitherto the country being practicable and well 20, &c.
 inhabited, they cou'd order their march by known towns, and other remarkable boundaries; so that thus farr there was no need of steering by the Starrs, or by the Compass had it been then in use, or by other the like methods: nor in effect do we read of any such in these marches, ordinary or extraordinary. But at Etham begun *the wilderness of the red sea*, as on the other side continu'd a wilderness vast and horrible, where a visible Guide became absolutely necessary: nor cou'd MOSES suffice, tho he had liv'd in it very many years; for somthing must be seen by the whole Army, and so order'd as to make certain signals, wherby they might all halt or procede at once (as explain'd before) and know when they were to incamp, where to tarry a considerable time in one place, and when again to leave it. These signals (which are now perform'd by Canon both on sea and land) were to the Israelites no less necessary by night than by day; because haste, or other exigences, did sometimes oblige them to march in the night. Being therefore in Etham *on the edge of the wilderness*, the thing appointed for making signals was FIRE; whose *Flame*, but not its *Smoke*, is very far seen by night: as its *Smoke*, tho not its *Flame*, is perceiv'd at a great distance by day. Before I come to particular proofs from *Scripture*, I shall here in a few words declare the manner of ordering this FIRE. It was under the direction of a proper Officer, and highly elevated in a certain machine on a Pole, which was carry'd

Ibid. 13.
18.

Ibid. 2. 15.
& seq. 3. 1.
& seq.

Ibid. 13.
20.

In Hebrew
דגל, Num.
21. 8. &c.

Ibid. 10.
1—10.

carry'd before the first line of the Army, whence it cou'd be seen by all the rest. But as soon as the *Tabernacle* was made and erected (which was the Tent where GOD, as King, was present by his symbols and his ministers) then this fire was immediately plac'd on the top of it, and so became conspicuous to the whole Army. Trumpets made of silver indeed they had, design'd by distinct signals, as you read in *Numbers*, for the *calling of the Assembly and the journeying of the Camps*: but as these cou'd not possibly be heard throout all the Camp, consisting of above 600000 men; so the signals alternatly appointed by the *Flame* and the *Smoke*, were as follows. As long as the Fire continu'd on the top of the *Tabernacle*, were it for days, or months, or years, so long they continu'd in the Camp: but whenever it was taken off, whether by night or by day, then they strait remov'd and begun their march after it, till set again on the top of the *Tabernacle*; which was the known sign of pitching their tents, of which they were doubtless advertiz'd by Officers destin'd to watch for that purpose.

X. NOW e'er I come to the proofs I promis'd from *Scripture*, I think it proper here to give some instances, that this *guidance by Fire*, so natural in such places and so commodious, was practis'd by other nations; particularly by the Persians, who not onely had great wildernesses in their own, and in the neighbouring territories: but also made frequent irruptions into Egypt thro this very wilderness, where the Israelites wander'd up and down during forty years; not as if these did not know the shorter cut into the land of Canaan, but that for very expedient reasons (which will be read in the Introduction to our REPUBLIC OF MOSES) they declin'd from

from the known road. To begin with the latest example, when ALEXANDER wag'd warr in Asia against the Persians, tis recorded of him that *13* *he alter'd many things to good purpose in the discipline of his Army, from what was us'd by his ancestors: for no wise man will disdain to learn of his greatest enemy, besides that circumstances will often oblige a General to change his ordinary conduct. Among the other alterations made by ALEXANDER, one is deliver'd in these 14 words. When he wou'd have the Camp to remove, the signal was given by a Trumpet; wherof the sound nevertheless was not sufficiently heard, by reason of the confus'd noise of the multitude. Wherfore he order'd a Pole, which might be seen from all parts, to be set on the top of the General's tent, on which a signal hang visible to all alike; namely, FIRE was observ'd by night, and SMOKE by day. I here appeal to the most prejudic'd reader, whether two drops of water can be liker, than these signals of ALEXANDER and MOSES, partly by Trumpets, partly by Fire and Smoke? and had we no other proof, we ought of course to conclude, that there was no more of miracle in the one than in the other. But we shall have no need to rest on this advantage. In the mean time we are to observe, that ALEXANDER learnt this from the Persians, among whom Fire was exalted on the Royal tent; for no other end in my opinion, says the no less judicious than learned*

13. In disciplina quoque Militaris rei plerisque, a majoribus tradita, utiliter mutavit. QUINT. CURT. lib. 5. cap. 2.

14. Tuba, quum castra movere vellet, signum dabat; cujus sonus plerumque, tumultuantium fremitu exoriebat, haud satis exaudiebatur. Ergo Perticam, quae undique conspici posset, supra Praetorium statuit; ex qua signum eminebat, pariter omnibus conspiciuum. Observabatur Ignis noctu, Fumus interdiu. Id. Ibid.

is FREINSHEMIUS, but to be a signal either for a march or a battle: for altho a signal was given by a trumpet, yet it cou'd not be heard by the whole Army, especially consisting of such a multitude of people; so that ALEXANDER seems, in the alteration mention'd by QUINTUS CURTIUS, to have borrow'd his institution from hence. That this was no random conjecture we are now going to prove.

XI. THE military Discipline of the Persians, which they us'd in all ages, is thus describ'd by QUINTUS CURTIUS, in the march of DARIUS against ALEXANDER, agreeing in most particulars with the account of ¹⁶HERODOTUS many ages before him. *It has been a custom (says ¹⁷he) deliver'd down to the Persians from their ancestors, to begin their march after Sun-rising. When it grew clear day, the Signal was given by a trumpet from the KING's tent. On the top of this tent the image of the SUN, inclos'd in Crystal, made so*

15. Porro hanc imaginem non alio fini super tabernaculum Regis fuisse arbitror, quam ut signum esset vel profectionis vel pugnae. Quoniam enim signum buccina dabatur, exaudiri ab universo exercitu non poterat, praesertim in tanta hominum multitudine. Ut vel hinc mutuatus videri possit ALEXANDER institutum suum, quod narrat CURTIUS. *In annotat. ad cap. 2. lib. 5. QUINT. CURT.*

16. Lib. 7. cap. 40.

17. Patrio more Persarum traditum est, orto demum sole procedere. Die jam illustri signum e tabernaculo Regis buccinâ dabatur. Super Tabernaculum, unde ab omnibus conspici posset, imago Solis crystallo inclusa fulgebat. Ordo autem agminis erat talis. Ignis, quem ipsi sacrum et aeternum vocabant, argenteis altaribus praeferebatur. Magi proximi patrium carmen canebant. M g o s trecenti et sexaginta quinque juvenes sequebantur, puniceis amiculis velati, diebus totius anni pares numero: quippe Persis quoque in totidem dies descriptus est annus. Currum deinde, Jovi sacrum, albentes vehabant equi. Hos eximiae magnitudinis equus, quem Solis vocabant, sequebatur. *Lib. 3. cap. 3.*

bright

bright a show, as to be seen by all the Camp. The order of the Army was after this manner. The FIRE, which they call'd sacred and eternal, was carry'd before on silver Altars. Next came the MAGES singing a Hymn, after the custom of their country. After the MAGES follow'd three hundred and sixty five YOUNG MEN, clad in scarlet robes, being equal in number to the days of the whole year: for the year is likewise divided into as many days by the Persians. Then proceded the consecrated Chariot of JUPITER, drawn by white horses. These were follow'd by another horse of extraordinary size, which they call'd the horse of the SUN. So far our author, in whom you may read the whole procession. I needed to have quoted only a small part of this passage, to prove the Fire on the top of the principal tent (for that carry'd before the Army, was the sacred symbol of the Divinity) but I produc'd the rest to show that the march of the Israelites and the Persians was so like, as to be almost the same: which however ought not to be matter of wonder in people, that not onely dwelt on the same continent, but that had frequent intercourse and warrs, as the Jews were more than once in subjection to the Persians. The Signal to the armies of both, was given by a trumpet from the royal tent: for what in *Scripture*, from the Latin word, we call the *Tabernacle*, ought to have been translated the *Tent* (as sometimes it is render'd *the Tent of the Testimony*, and *the Tent of the Congregation*) and was in effect the Tent wherein JEHOVAH, the King of the Israelites, was present by his Symbols and Ministers. Sacred Fire was carry'd before these Nations, which, tho acknowledg'd by both to be a Symbol of the Divinity (as Fire was kept by both inextinguish'd in their holy places, and affirm'd to have been originally

Num. 9.

15.

Exod. 39.

32.

kindl'd from ¹⁸ heaven) yet order'd after another manner, it serv'd 'em no less for a guide in their marches, than at other times to dress their food, or to warm their bodies. The Priests and Levites follow'd immediately after the sacred Fire among the Israelites; as the Mages, with the 365 young men, observ'd the like rank among the Persians. These in both nations sung certain Hymns, proper to the occasion. Those of the Israelites I shall recite in their COMMONWEALTH. The Ark of JEHOVAH is indeed commanded to be carry'd on men's shoulders; but the chariot of JUPITER was drawn by Horses. As the image of the Sun shin'd aloft on the top of the Royal tent among the Persians: so the Fire was lighted among the Israelites, on the top of the Tabernacle. To be short, I'll show in the MOSAIC REPUBLIC many more conformities between the Jews and the Persians, as others have done between them and the Egyptians: for, even before the captivity, the Jews did not onely sacrifice like the Persians in the high places; but they had also the consecrated horses and chariots of the Sun, for which the Commentators give no tolerable reason.

2 Kings,
23. 11.

XII. NOT to make this Digression longer, I have already shown the necessity of the guidance of the Starrs, or of the Compass, or of Fire thro vast desarts, as well as that such methods have been actually us'd. I have also stated the case how this was done by the Israelites at their coming

18. And then came a fire out from before the LORD, and consum'd upon the altar the burnt-offring and the fat. *Levit. 9.*

24. See also 1 Kings 18. 38. 2 Chron. 7. 1, 2. 2 Mac. 2. 10, 11.

Feruntque Magi (si justum est credi) etiam Ignem, coeetus lapsum, apud se serapiterneis foculis custodiri. AMMIAN. MARCELLIN. lib. 13. cap. 6.

out of Egypt, explain'd the terms of the question by parallel passages, and prov'd that other nations did follow the self-same practise in all respects. Now I shall allege my authorities out of *Scripture*, and then answer all the Objections that have been started to me, or that I have read on this subject; if they are not such very trifles, as deserve to be thrown into the fabulous rubbish, of which I shall give a small specimen in the hastiest manner I can. The first mention we find of *the Pillar of Cloud and Fire* is, when the Israelites, as we have said, came to Etham *in the edge of the wilderness*: and the words in *Exodus* on this occasion are, *The LORD went before them by day in a pillar of a Cloud, and by night in a pillar of Fire, to give them light to go by day and night; he took not away the Pillar of the Cloud by day, nor the Pillar of Fire by night, from before the people.* As for *the LORD's going before them*, we'll show in its due place, that it signifies by his Ministers and Symbols; all the commands of MOSES, AARON, JOSHUA, and other prime officers being attributed to him, as supreme Monarch of the Israelites: but we'll prove in particular, that the phrase of *the Angel of the LORD* does not denote any miracle, with relation to *the Pillar of Cloud and Fire*, after we have briefly settled the motions of the Cloud it self. This is clearly done in the book of *Numbers*. *On the day that the Tabernacle was rear'd up, the Cloud cover'd the Tabernacle, namely the Tent of the Testimony; and at even there was upon the Tabernacle as it were the appearance of Fire, until the morning. So it was alway: the Cloud cover'd it by day, and the appearance of Fire by night. And when the Cloud was taken up from the Tabernacle, then after that the children of Israel journeyed; and in the place where the Cloud abode, there the children of Israel pitch'd*

Exod. 13.
20, 21, 22.

Num. 9.
15—22.

their tents. At the commandment of the LORD the children of Israel journeyed, and at the commandment of the LORD they pitched: as long as the Cloud abode upon the Tabernacle, they rested in the tents. And when the Cloud tarry'd long upon the Tabernacle many days, then the children of Israel kept the charge of the LORD, and journey'd not. And so it was, when the Cloud was a few days upon the Tabernacle: according to the commandment of the LORD they abode in their tents, and according to the commandment of the LORD they journeyed. And so it was when the Cloud abode from even unto the morning, and that the Cloud was taken up in the morning, then they journeyed: whether it was by day or by night that the Cloud was taken up, they journeyed. Or whether it were two days, or a month, or a year, that the Cloud tarry'd upon the Tabernacle, remaining thereon, the Children of Israel abode in their tents, and journeyed not; but when it was taken up, they journeyed. The same things almost in the same words are contain'd in the fortieth chapter of Exodus: onely that whereas here in Numbers it is written that there was an appearance of fire all night, which, in the Hebrew idiom, is that fire appear'd; in Exodus it is directly said, that Fire was on the Tabernacle by night, in the sight of all the house of Israel, thro all their journeys.

Exod. 40.
34—38.

vs. 38.

XIII. TO be thus seen and understood by all, was the very end and purpose of exalting it there, as well among the Jews as the Persians, and by ALEXANDER warring in Asia. To place it there likewise or to take it off, there needed no greater art than is us'd in beacons; as by a lamp, plac'd in a Crystal Lantern, the same end was serv'd among the Persians: for the circumstances necessarily requir'd in managing this matter, are so obvious to common understanding; that neither the fuel of the fire on the

the

the pole over ALEXANDER's tent, nor the machine that contain'd it, are any more specify'd, than the same things over the Tabernacle of the Israelites. But as it does not follow, that the lamp over the tent of DARIUS, nor the fire and smoke over ALEXANDER's tent did kindle or move of themselves, but are suppos'd to have been manag'd by proper Officers: the same supposition ought as naturally to be made concerning the fire over the tent of JEHOVAH, and wou'd as readily be so constru'd in the *Old Testament* as in other historians; were not men's minds prepossess'd with the notion of a miracle in this case from their infancy, or that they are ignorant of the *Scripture*-stile and allusions. I grant it to be said, when the signals of the Cloud are explain'd, that *at the commandment of the LORD* Num 9 23. *the Israelites rested in the tents, and at the commandment of the LORD they journey'd.* But what does immediately follow? why this: *they* Ibid. *kept the charge of the LORD at the commandment of the LORD by the hand of MOSES;* which irresistibly evinces, that what MOSES order'd, as JEHOVAH's Deputy, prime Minister, or General, is said to be commanded by the LORD himself.

XIV. THE very first March they made after the erecting of the Tabernacle, and the appointing of the signals upon it; is thus related in the same book of *Numbers*. *And it came to pass on* Num. 10. *the twentieth day of the second month, in the second* 11, 12. *year, that the Cloud was taken up from off the Tabernacle of the Testimony: and the children of Israel took their journeys out of the wilderness of Sinai, and the Cloud rested in the Wilderness of Paran, or they incamp'd there. It is presently said, and they first took their journey, according to the com-* Ver. 13. *mandment of the LORD by the hand of MOSES:*

a certain Sign that he commanded the *Cloud* as Generalissimo, whoever had the immediate direction of it. Nor is it less manifest, as we have been just saying, that the actions of MOSES, JOSHUA, and other representatives, are in thousands of places attributed to GOD, the King of Israel; as in all ages has been the stile, and yet continues to be, with regard to Monarchs and Sovereigns. But the Jews and Christians perpetually reading of the *Fire* or *Cloud's* going before and coming behind (wherof anon) of its resting on the top or before the door of the Tabernacle, they presently think it mov'd so of it self, merely because the circumstances of managing it thus are omitted, in that abridgement of the MOSAIC *History* we call the *Pentateuch*. Men of immense Learning, and most of 'em Divines by profession, have undeniably prov'd it to be a real Abridgement (but infinitely valuable) of some larger History of the Israelites. Among these I know not whether I ought to reckon my once honoured Master TRIGLANDIUS, the worthy Father of the present no less worthy Professor at Leyden. He wrote a *Dissertation*, I have unfortunately lost, concerning the *Book of Jasher*; which last word he proves to be wrong punctuated with Vowels, and that the three consonants of it are an abbreviation of *Israel*: so that instead of reading the *Book of Jasher* or the *Just*, as now universally done, he reads the *Book of Israel*, wherein he has my suffrage. Yet whether he holds the *Pentateuch*, the book of JOSHUA, and that of *Judges*, to be an abridgement of this principal *History of Israel*, I neither perfectly remember, nor consequently will

Jof. 10.

13.

2 Sam. 1.

8.

19.  is a noted abbreviation of *Israel* in the writings of the Rabbins.

averr : it being with me a sacred maxim, to advance no fact, without vouchers not to be contradicted. In the Introduction to the so often mention'd MOSAIC REPUBLIC, I shall add more reasons, proving the *Pentateuch* an Abridgement, to those already produc'd by Monsieur LE CLERC, whose *Critical Commentaries on the Old Testament*, farr surpassing all that ever appear'd of that kind, I long to see happily finish'd. In the mean time I cannot but observe with AMMIANUS MARCELLINUS, that
 20 *whoever affects too great a brevity in relating things unknown, does not so much consider, what are the most remarkable things he shou'd express, as what he shou'd pass over in silence* ; which observation, tho not originally true of the historical books of the *Old Testament*, yet is too true as they happen to be read at present : but when those things were written, or even abridg'd, they were very familiar to the readers of these volums, and all the ideas relating to them perfectly understood.

XV. TO return to the Subject, from whence I have made this small excursion, I wonder they, who are so fond of a Miracle in *the Pillar of Cloud and Fire*, do not affirm as much of the *Ark* ; since, after the Israelites had, in their second march, advanc'd three days Journey from Mount Sinai, *the Ark of the Covenant of the LORD went before them in the three days journey, to search out a resting place for them : and the Cloud of JEHOVAH was upon them by day, when they went out of the Camp.* No mention is here made of the *Ark's* Num. 10. 33, 34.

20 Quisquis enim adfectat nimiam brevitatem, ubi narrantur incognita ; non quid signantiùs explicet, sed quid debeat praeterire, scrutatur. Lib. 23. cap. 6.

Exod. 25.

14. 15. &

37. 3. 4.

5.

Ibid. 10.

34.

Deut. 1.

32. 33.

Num. 10.

35. 36.

Ibid. 14.

14.

being carry'd on men's shoulders before the Army, as representing GOD or the King's presence : and had not this circumstance been recorded elsewhere, with the rings and staves to make it portable, it must undoubtedly have been transform'd into a Miracle, as well as *the Cloud of JEHOVAH* (every thing being denominated from the King) which, in the same place, is said *was upon them by day, when they went out of the Camp*. To this a particular allusion is made in the first chapter of *Deuteronomy*, where the thing representing is call'd by the name of the thing represented, or the Ark call'd the LORD your GOD *who went in the way before you, says MOSES, to search you out a place to pitch your tents in ; in Fire by night to show you by what way you shou'd go, and in a Cloud by day*. This he likewise does, in the last cited place of *Numbers*, by a very solemn form of words : for *when the Ark set forward MOSES said, rise up, LORD, and let thine Enomies be scattered ; and let them that hate thee, flee before thee. And when it rested, he said ; return, LORD, unto the many thousands of Israel*. From his royal pre-eminence the *Cloud*, as you have now seen, is call'd *the Cloud of JEHOVAH* ; as *MOSES* says elsewhere, *It will be told the Inhabitants of this land,—that thy Cloud standeth over them, and that thou goest before them : by day-time in a Pillar of a Cloud, and in a Pillar of Fire by night*. Nothing can be plainer than all this.

XVI. THERE are also passages that show the Cloud was taken down, and yet not exalted on a Pole to move forward ; as a sign not only that there was no march as usual : but that, upon high causes of displeasure, the discipline of the Camp shou'd no longer be observ'd ; and that the People

ple were to be abandon'd, without head or guide in the Wilderness. When MOSES, upon their making the Golden Calf, had remov'd the Tabernacle out of the Camp, *it came to pass as he enter'd into the Tabernacle, that the Cloudy Pillar descended, and stood at the door of the Tabernacle:* that is, as clearly appears from the context, it was taken down from the Tabernacle, yet not carry'd before the Army as a sign of marching, but fixt before the door; because the LORD refus'd to go up with them, till afterwards, upon their repentance, they were led on as before. So upon a like occasion, viz: the sedition of Aaron and Miriam, *the Pillar of the Cloud was taken down* (NOTA BENE here it is *in terminis* said to be TAKEN DOWN) *and stood at the door of the Tabernacle.* I hope by this time I have set in the clearest light the nature and use of *the Pillar of Cloud and Fire*, directing the marches and stations of the Israelites in the Wilderness; in such a light, I say, that no man of good understanding, or void of superstition, will any longer think it a miracle: for by a common rule, agreed upon no less by Divines than others, *that thing ought not to be reputed a Miracle, which can be explain'd by the laws of Nature or ordinary means, and where a perfect account is given of all appearances.* On this score it is, that I have brought parallel examples, as I shall do more presently, out of authors posterior to MOSES, not for proof (since that results from the thing it self) but for illustration; as all *Commentators* explain the antient by the modern usages of the Eastern nations, where of numberless instances occur in their books. Where things, in short, seem in all respects alike, they ought to be deem'd of the like nature, tho one author be more particular in relating circumstances than another, or may use a different stile and manner of writing.

Exod. 14.
5—12.

Ibid. 14.
19, 20.

XVII. I READILY agree however, that I am oblig'd to solve all the difficulties, which can be reasonably made against my account of the *Cloud*. Some, that have been offer'd in fortuitous conversation, are extremely frivolous and impertinent. But the objection, with which I shall begin, appears at first sight to be the difficultest of all; or, if people will have it so, the most miraculous. When the Israelites, in their flight or expulsion, were got as farr as Pihahiroth by the red sea; and the Egyptians pursuing had come up close with them, being farr superior in number and all other advantages: the first were in the utmost consternation, having the sea before and the Enemy behind; which made them give themselves over for lost, not onely as soon as the Morning shou'd appear, but even took it for granted they were to be attack'd, and quite destroy'd that very night. The particulars you have in the fourteenth chapter of *Exodus*, where it is further related, that *the Angel of GOD, which went before the Camp of Israel, remov'd and went behind them; and the Pillar of the Cloud went from before their face, or front, and stood behind them, or in the rear: and it came between the Camp of the Egyptians and the Camp of Israel, and it was a cloud and darkness to those, but it gave light by night to these; so that the one came not near the other all that night.* It is observable, that the Egyptians, accustom'd to the manner of passing those desarts, were not amaz'd at the *Cloud* (which they must certainly have been, were it a thing unusual) but, on the contrary, they follow'd it; tho, as it will be immediately seen, it deceived and misguided them. The *Angel of GOD* mention'd here, and about which the Christian Divines of all nations are divided (some maintaining it to be the first of the heavenly Hierarchy, but

most

most that it was no meaner a Person than CHRIST himself) I shall prove in its place to have been no other, than a mere mortal man, the Guide of the Israelites in the Wilderness; and the overseer or director of the portable Fire, as part of his peculiar office and province. But as for the thing it self, *the moving of the FIRE*, which is the point in question, it was a stratagem of warr there, no less than elsewhere; which stratagem I lay here open to the meanest capacity, by a passage out of the *Cyropedia*, as being exactly parallel. When CYRUS and CYAXARES, at the head of an Army of Medes and Persians, lay incamp'd in the enemy's country; the Army of the Babylonians, Lydians, and Egyptians, farr superior in number, came up with them at last. *Hereupon* (says ²¹ XENOPHON) *they did not by night kindle the Fires in the center of the Camp, but in the front of it; that, if any of the Enemy mov'd in the night, they might see and not be seen of them, by means of the Fire. They likewise frequently plac'd the Fire in the rear of the Camp to deceive the enemy, which occasion'd their scouts to fall in with the out-guards; by reason the Fires were behind the Camp, whereas they suppos'd themselves to be at a considerable distance, as believing the Fire was in its ordinary place. I have noted much such another passage in the same XENOPHON, and there are many more in other Historians. Here then you have FIRE removing from one place to another, sometimes before and sometimes behind*

Lib. 3. &
Hist. Græc.
lib. 6.

21. Πῦρ δὲ νυκτὸς οὐκ ἔκαιον ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ, ἐμπροσθεν μὲντοι τοῦ στρατοπέδου ἔκαιον; ὅπως ὀρνεῖ, μὲν εἰσὶν νυκτὸς περσίουιν, διὰ τὸ πῦρ, μὴ ὄρωντο δὲ ὑπὸ προσιόντων. Πάλλαξις δὲ καὶ οὔσιθεν τοῦ στρατοπέδου ἐπυρπολοῦν, ἀτακτὴς ἕνεκα τῶν πολεμίων, ὥς ἐστὶν ὅτε καὶ κατασκοποὶ ἐρετρίκτων εἰς τὰς περσουλὰς αὐτῶν (διὰ τὸ οὔσιθεν τὰ τυρὰ εἶναι) ἐτι πόρρω τοῦ στρατοπέδου διομένοι κτάι. *Cyropæd. lib. 7.*

the

the Camp: but so order'd, as to be a light and guide to the Persians; at the same time, that it was darkness and deception to the Assyrians. *That if any of the enemy mov'd in the night* (says the Grecc writer) *they might see, and not be seen of them, by means of the FIRE.* It was a cloud and darkness to the Egyptians (says the Hebrew writer) *but it gave light by night to the Israelites, so that the one came not near the other all the night;* for the Egyptians, judging by the Fire, thought the Israelites to be much nearer than they were. The onely difference between the authors of the *Pentateuch* and the *Cyropedia* is, that the latter relates more particularly how this was done; while the other omits some circumstances, or rather words them differently, the thing being then familiar to every body. The author of the *Cyropedia* wrote of matters he learnt from strangers, utterly unknown, or seldom us'd in his own country: whereas the author of the *Pentateuch* relates what was well known, or customary to his readers; and therefore not needing to be describ'd by those minute circumstances, which he omits on a thousand other such occasions.

XVIII. I SHALL give but this one example of such Omissions. When men of clear understanding and sound judgment read in *Deuteronomy*, that, during the forty years wandering of the Israelites in the wilderness, *their cloaths were not grown old, nor their shoes worn out, nor their feet swollen* for want of being shod; they know the reason is, because they were supply'd with the wool and skins of those numerous herds and flocks they had along with them, which are very distinctly mention'd: and moreover, that Weavers, Tailors, and Shoemakers (any more than other Artificers, such as Architects, Carpenters, Goldsmiths,

Deut. 8. 4.
& 29. 5.

Exod. 16.
9, 24, 28.
& 12. 32.
38. Num.
7. & alibi
passim.

Goldsmiths, and Jewellers) cou'd not be wanting in a multitude of more than six hundred thousand men, besides women and children. And, in effect, we find they had all these in the Wilderness, at the building of the Tabernacle, under the direction of BEZALEEL and AHOLIAB. Yet this not being particularly express'd in the same place, where the garments and shoos of the Israelites are mention'd (as what good Historian does always write what shou'd be naturally suppos'd?) you are not ignorant how numerous be the writers who maintain, that their Cloaths and their Shoos were so farr from becoming old: that they even grew wider and longer, in proportion to the growth of their limbs from childhood to manhood; that the seams never unript, that no part was ever worn or torn. This shows, that Numbers and Truth are not inseparable. Here are abundance of Mysteries, occasion'd by a writer's not saying in direct terms, that *nothing was wanting to the Israelites in the wilderness*; which defect NEHEMIAH, magnifying God's providence on this very subject, literally supplies, saying: *forty years didst thou sustain them in the Wilderness, so that THEY LACKED NOTHING; their cloaths waxed not old, and their feet swelled not.* But this cannot satisfy those, by whom figures are easily chang'd into miracles, and monsters made of omissions. I am sorry to find a man otherwise very learned, MANASSEH BEN ISRAEL among them, who attributes this miracle to the ²² Cloud. No other Creature, but an enthusiastical Christi-

Exod. 32.
1. & seq.
Item 35.
5—25—
30. et alibi

Neh. 9. 21.

22. Asi mas, el Milagro de los Vestidos, que no se envejecian, mas se conservavan en un mismo ser, creciendo juntamente con ellos, en virtud de las nubes de la honra, como tambien el no se les aver hinchado en tanto camino los pies. *In his Argument to the 8th chapter of Deuteronomy.*

an *Father*, or his more credulous modern disciple, instructed by a fabulous Jewish *Cabalist*, cou'd be capable of conceiving or propagating such absurdities, as are vended on this subject. But the country of Chimeras is of vast extent. Every man of an implicate constitution, is as fond and conceited of the wonderful, the extraordinary; and the I know not what, in his Religion, as he's in his Mistress. As each of 'em must needs be a None-such in their kind, so he professes himself always ready to fight or suffer for both, be his rivals ever so formidable. Neither the one nor the other is ever in the wrong; or being so, must never be contradicted: and he passes for an envious or an ill-bred fellow, who does not join in drinking the health or singing the praises of both. These are nice points of honor, where the consulting of sedate reason, wou'd be apt to cool a heroic passion; and hinder an impertinent obstinacy, to pass for the virtues of fidelity and perseverance. The comparison does hold thro-out of these Visionaries: and Knights-errant are equally ridiculous, whether they turn bullies for Religion or Ladies. But not to lose sight of our stratagems, wherof abundance have been antiently, and are still perform'd by the help of FIRE, VEGETIUS says, *when*²³ *Armies are divided, they signify to their Confederates in the night time by flame, and in the day-time by smoke, what can by no other means be done.* And FRONTINUS, the²⁴ *Arabs, whose custom*

²³ Si divisae sint copiae, per noctem Flammis, per diem Fumo, significant socijs, quod aliter non potest nunciari. Lib. 3. cap. 5.

²⁴ Arabes, cum esset nota consuetudo eorum, qua de adventu hostium interdiu Fumo, noctu Igne significare instituerant, ut sine intermissione ea fierent, praeceperunt, adventantibus autem advertarijs intermitterent: qui cum cessantibus luminibus, existimarent ignorari adventum suum, avidius ingressi opprellique sunt. De Stratagem. lib. 2. cap. 5.

was well known to give notice of the enemies approach by Smoke in the day-time, and by Fire in the night-time, order'd this method to be observ'd without intermission, except when the Enemy drew near: whereupon these seeing no flame, and therefore believing their coming was not discover'd, made an inroad with the greater impetuosity, and were in consequence overthrown. But to produce more instances wou'd be mispending of time, since that cited out of the *Cyropedia* is, as I noted before, an exact parallel.

XIX. THE next difficulty arises from some people's confounding one *Cloud* with another, or rather with others. In the first place, they confound the *guiding Cloud* with that of mount Sinai, which was a cloud properly so call'd, out of which issu'd thunder and lightning. *And it came to pass on the third day in the morning, as you have it in the 19th of Exodus, that there were thunders, and lightnings, and a thick Cloud upon the Mount;* which, just after, is call'd *Smoke*, by an easy metaphor usual to other²⁵ Writers, who term the fog on mountains a *russet Cloud* and likewise *thick darkness*. A little before in this same chapter it is also call'd a *thick Cloud*, as in the following chapter it is called *thick darkness*: very natural preparations for thunder and lightning. It is said to have cover'd the Mount, as clouds are wont to do, and is the same that is again mention'd in the thirty fourth chapter. After indicating these places, twill be an easy thing to distinguish from the *metaphorical Cloud* on the Tabernacle, this *real Cloud* on the mountain, wherever it occurs,

Exod. 19
16.

ver. 18.

ver. 9.

ver. 21.

Ibid. 24.

15---18.

ver. 5.

²⁵ Fit quoque uti montis vicina cacumina coelo
Quam sint quaeque magis, tanto magis edita fument
Assiduè fulvae nubis caliginè crassa, *Lucret. lib. 6. ver 458.*

as well as the many allusions to it in the books of the *Old Testament*. It wou'd be too long a digression here, and indeed it merits a *Dissertation* by it self, to show that by the *Glory of GOD* so often mention'd on this occasion, is signify'd *Flames of Fire*, as *Thunder* is call'd his *Voice*. But this, I say, requires an entire discourse. In the mean time they, who are for diminishing of Clouds and multiplying of Miracles, will have it, that tho no further mention is made of the *Cloud's* leading the Israelites when once they left the wilderness, and came to the cultivated countries about the river Jordan, where its guidance became wholly needless: I say, notwithstanding all this, they pertinaciously maintain that it continu'd afterwards, as a standing miracle among the Jews; first in the Tabernacle, and next in the Temple. It was in this *Cloud* (permanent according to them) that *GOD* promis'd to *meet AARON*, with the succeeding High Priests, and to *speak with them*: for *GOD*, as *SOLOMON* remarks, *said, that he wou'd dwell in the thick darkness*; alluding, without all question, to the places just cited out of *Exodus*. The place of the *Cloud*, both in the Tabernacle and the Temple, was on the Mercy-seat between the two Cherubims, in the Holy of Holies; where the High-Priest alone enter'd once a year, to make an extraordinary expiation for the whole people. The time and manner of this expiatory Sacrifice are particularly describ'd in *Leviticus*, where it is said, that the *LORD* said unto *MOSES*, *speak unto AARON thy brother, that he come not at all times into the holy place within the vail before the Mercy-seat, which is upon the Ark, that he die not; for I will appear in the Cloud upon the Mercy-seat*. Here you have the miraculous *Cloud*, say they: yet that this was not the conducting *Cloud* in the wilderness, but one

Exo 1. 19.

42. & 30.

16.

Levit. 16. 2.

1 Kings 8.

12.

Exod. 25.

22. & 29.

42. & 30.

36. Num.

7. 89. &

17. 4.

1 Kings 8.

12.

2 Chron.

5. 14. &

6. 1.

Levit. 16.

2.

Item Exod.

30. 10. &c.

one of the Priest's own raising, I am now not onely going to show, but also to produce the receipt for making of it. For a general rule being thus laid down for the Priest, next follows the matter of the sacrifice he was to offer in the Sanctuary; with the garments he was to wear on this solemn occasion, and the ritual of his administering. Then it is added, *he shall take a censer-full of burning coals of fire from the Altar before the LORD, and his hands full of sweet incense beaten small, and bring it within the vail: and he shall put the incense upon the fire before the LORD, that the Cloud of the incense may cover the Mercy-seat that is upon the Testimony, that he die not.* Here you plainly see, that it was a Cloud of smoke, a Cloud of the Priest's own making, as I promis'd to show, and how he did it too. It might likewise be very properly said, that GOD dwelt in the thick darkness, since there were no windows at all in the Sanctuary; nor was there any other sort of light in it, unless perhaps some glimmering rays piercing thro the Vail, from the lamps that were burning without it, in the antichamber of JEHOVAH the King of Israel.

ver. 3---11.

ver. 12, 13.

XX. THIS obscurity was yet made more obscure, by the addition of the *Cloud of smoke*: but in what manner the LORD commun'd there with the High-Priest, and how he manifested his presence to him, is none of my business now to examine. Yet if any be desirous to know what that odoriferous incense was, wherof we read in the receipt for making the *Smoke or Cloud*, there is a particular description of it, according to the art of the Apothecary, for the service of the Tabernacle, in the thirtieth Chapter of *Exodus*; but with a severe prohibition not to make any of it for a

Exod. 30.

34---38.

- common perfume, or for ordinary use. Tis evident therefore, that the *Cloud in the Oracle*, or holiest place, whether of the Tabernacle or the Temple, was neither the *Cloud* which guided the Israelites in the wilderness, nor any way miraculous in it self; and so nothing at all against my opinion, but a plain confirmation of the same. I said just now, that it was none of my present business to inquire, in what manner the LORD spoke in the Oracle to the High-Priest, or how he manifested his presence to him in that sacred and awful obscurity. But EPIPHANIUS tells us (with laudable detestation) a ridiculous story about this matter, out of an apocryphal Christian ²⁶ Book, intitul'd, *the Progeny of MARY*. In this worthy piece it was among other things contain'd, that the reason why ZACHARY's mouth was stopt, and that he was afterwards kill'd between the Temple and the Altar, was; that the Angel of whom we read in LUKE, and whom he saw in the Temple, was a man disguis'd under the figure of an Ass: who, being surpriz'd, throttl'd him, lest he shou'd tell the Jews what a rare GOD they worship'd; but that, when he afterwards recover'd the use of his voice, and told what he had discover'd, they did actually kill him.
- Luc. 1. 20. was stopt, and that he was afterwards kill'd between the Temple and the Altar, was; that the
- Ibid. ver. 11, &c. Angel of whom we read in LUKE, and whom he saw in the Temple, was a man disguis'd under the figure of an Ass: who, being surpriz'd, throttl'd him, lest he shou'd tell the Jews what a rare GOD they worship'd; but that, when he afterwards recover'd the use of his voice, and told what he had discover'd, they did actually kill him.
- Exod. 28. It was added, that the reason why MOSES com-
33. 34. 35. manded the High-priest to wear bells on his robe, was; that as oft as he enter'd the Temple to perform his office, he that was worship'd (being warn'd by the sound of the bells) might withdraw, and not be catch'd in that masquerade. But to repeat this incoherent fable, is to confute it: and it must be own'd that such Christians, as the compiler of *the Progeny of MARY*, carry'd

their aversion to Judaism an unaccountable length; just as the mob, at this very time in Portugal, wou'd tear a man to pieces, that durst affirm the Virgin MARY had been a Jewess. To return, after this slight excursion, to the *Pillar of Cloud and Fire* (which, to say it in a word, is oftner mention'd under the name of a *Cloud* than of *Fire*, because the Israelites march'd oftner by day than by night) it is not onely confounded with the *thick Cloud of incense* in the Temple, and with that in the Tabernacle before it; but also with the *Fire on the Altar*, for which I am going to cite the text that is brought to prove it. *Then a* Exod. 40.
Cloud cover'd the Tent of the Congregation, and the 34. 35.
Glory of the LORD fill'd the Tabernacle: and
MOSES was not able to enter into the Tent of the
Congregation, because the Cloud abode thereon, and
the Glory of the LORD fill'd the Tabernacle.
 But how? Not because of the *Cloud* pitch'd on the top of the Tabernacle, but by reason of the *Cloud* on the Altar of Burnt-offering at the Door Ver. 29.
 of the Tabernacle, then plentifully burning for the first time, and covering the place with its smoke; while the flame, or the *Glory of the* Ver. 26, 27.
 LORD, from the Altar of Incense, fill'd the Tabernacle. The like happen'd long after to the Priests in SOLOMON's time; tho we have sufficiently evinc'd, that these *Clouds* were of the Priest's own making, and farr from being the *guiding Cloud* in the wilderness.

2 Kings 8.
 10, 11, 12.
 compar'd
 with 2
 Chron. 5.
 14. & 6. 1.
 * & 7. 1, 2.

XXI. ANOTHER thing scarce worth the mentioning, if many did not vehemently insist on it, is the fancy of those who multiply *Pillars*, tho they diminish *Clouds*; and will needs have it, that the *Pillar of Fire* was one thing, and the *Pillar of Cloud* another. I grant they were so, in the sense that *Fire* and *Smoke* are call'd two

Exod. 14.
20.

Num. 9.
21.

things: but if I have prov'd, and that the nature of the thing shows, it was the *Flame* and the *Smoke* of the self-same FIRE, that serv'd, the one of 'em, for a guide by day, and the other by night; then I think it a very improper way of speaking, to call them TWO PILLARS, as even MENASSEH BEN ISRAEL ²⁷ does, for whom I conceive nevertheless an uncommon esteem, where his Judgment keeps pace with his Learning. MOSES nowhere says they were TWO PILLARS, no more than he anywhere says they were MIRACULOUS. Nay, he does in more than one place speak as of one Pillar, tho the twofold use of it has led many Jews and Christians into the notion of two distinct Pillars. Thus in *Exodus* it came between the camp of the Egyptians and the camp of Israel, and it was a CLOUD and darkness to them, but it gave LIGHT by night to these. So in *Numbers*, whether it was by day or by night that the Cloud was taken up, they journeyed; where any man may demonstratively see, if he did not perceive it before, that the Pillar of Fire by night, and the Pillar of Cloud by day, was one and the same thing. Neither is there more weight in the next fancy, that the Pillar of Fire was so extraordinary large and luminous, as not onely to guide the whole Army; but also to give so clear a light to every individual man in it, that, farr from tripping or stumbling, he cou'd see a pin or a needle at his feet. When once the wonder-

27. Dios protege el pueblo, guiándolos con columnas de Nube y del Fuego. In the Argument to the 12th of Exodus. Referring [MOSES] como la misma Columna de Nube, que cubrió el Tabernáculo el día que se levantó, duró de día todos los 40 años del desierto; y otra de Fuego, para alumbrar de Noche. In the Argument to the 9th of Numbers, and to the same purpose elsewhere.

ful has got into a man's head, it wholly possesses him; and leaves no room for any thing else, nor knows how to set any bounds to it self. Yet *Scripture* (forsooth) must be quoted for this precarious, or rather monstrous supposition. The principal text they bring, is this following out of *NEHEMIAH*. *Yet thou, in thy manifold mercies, forsookest them not in the wilderness: the Pillar of the Cloud departed not from them by day, to lead them in the way; neither the Pillar of Fire by night, to show them light, and the way wherein they shou'd go.* Here the utmost import of the words amounts to no more, than that the *Pillar* shou'd the way to the whole Army, which no body denies; nor wou'd any deny it, shou'd the first column only see it, since the next wou'd follow that, and so of the rest. It was therefore a general guide or point of view, for the place to which they tended; but not as to every man's feet, much less for their private concerns: a thing Jewish and Christian doctors have not been asham'd to affirm. To as little purpose do they cite this of the seventy eighth Psalm: *in the day-time also he led them with a Cloud, and all the night with a Light of Fire.* Who denies it? But it wou'd be abusing my reader's patience, to insist longer on this head. I'm sure it wou'd be showing a very mean opinion of his understanding.

XXII. THE last text, however, puts me in mind of the hundreth and fifth *Psalm*, out of which a Passage is alledg'd to prove, that the basis of the *Pillar* was so large, as to cover the whole camp of Israel, over which it hung perpendicularly. The words are, *he spread a Cloud for a covering, and Fire to give light in the night.* This is a plain allusion, as appears from the verses of that *Psalm* going before and coming after, to

100

the 19th and 20th verses of the 13th chapter of *Exodus*; where the placing of the *Cloud* behind the Camp, became a *covering*, that is, a protection to it. The original word has no less general a sense, than *covering* has in English, as we say to *cover an army or a town*. This is self-evident from those many places in the *Old Testament*, where it does not always signify to cover or spread

Exod. 26.
36. & 37.
17. Psal. 91.
4. & 140.
7. Isa. 22.
8, &c.

over the whole surface of any thing; but stands for hangings, protection, and the like. Nor do the words *over* or *under* always imply, what they are made to do on this occasion: since in the same sense that the *Cloud* was said to be *over the Camp*, by being elevated on the Tabernacle in their stations, or on a Pole in their marches; we say, and all men say, that such a body of men are *under their colors*, tho not one single person is thereby *cover'd*. No more is any so, by the officers being said to be *over them*.

1 Cor. 10.
1, 2.

Some lay great stress with respect to this total covering, on a place in the *first Epistle to the Corinthians*, where PAUL allegorizing on the principal passages of the Jewish deliverance from the Egyptian slavery, says, *moreover, Brethren, I wou'd not that ye shou'd be ignorant, how that all our Fathers were under the Cloud, and all passed thro the sea; and were all baptized unto MOSES in the Cloud, and in the sea*. I leave the Divines to battle it, about the meaning of *Baptizing* in this place; for as none of the Israelites cou'd be said, in favor of *dipping*, to have been under water in their passage over the sea: so I am afraid as little can be inferr'd, on the behalf of *sprinkling*, from the *Cloud*; that gentle *dew*, which some have fancy'd, being a pure distillation of their own brains. It wou'd be a rare proof for *Infant-baptism*, cou'd it be handsomly made out. But, as farr as concerns my present subject, this passage is a palpable allusion

sion to the places, where the *Cloud* is mention'd in the *Pentateuch*; particularly to the 13th chapter of *Exodus*, just before the passing of the *Israelites* over the red sea.

XXIII. THE false interpretation forc'd upon the 39th verse of the 105th *Psalms*, by men who are not satisfy'd with the obvious sense of *Scripture*, or by others who do not find the *Scripture* countenancing their vain Traditions, has produc'd more extravagant imaginations, than any of the strange Glosses occasion'd by the *Cloud*. Some assert it did so cover the *Israelites*, as not onely to keep off unwholsom dews or blasts, and the scorching heat of the sun; but that they never saw, nor indeed needed to see, the sun, moon, or stars, during the forty years they wander'd in the wilderness. The Rabbins add, that the *Cloud*, like woollacks or bags of earth in our modern trenches, deadn'd the arrows and artillery of the Egyptians, who ply'd the *Israelites* hard all the night. But not content with one *Cloud*, they talk of no fewer than seven *Clouds of glory*, incompassing the camp: four towards the four winds, lest any shou'd injure them with an evil eye; one above them, lest the sun (as we said) shou'd hurt them; one under them, that shou'd bear them up as a mother does her child; and the seventh marching three days journey before them, depressing the hills and exalting the valleys into a level, destroying all manner of serpents, scorpions, or other noxious creatures, and marking the several places of pitching their camp. To be thus a *Marechal de Camp*, was nothing to other services. The *Cloud* supply'd each single centinel instead of a laundress, a scourer, a nurse (and what not?) purifying and whitning their cloaths, keeping their bodies clean from sweat
or

or vermin, and fanning them in their march with refreshing breezes. Mighty disputes have been rais'd about the matter of the *Cloud*, that I may here once for all rid my hands of such visions: as, whether it was not one of the things made before the creation of the world, but laid up till the proper time of using it? whether it was not created out of nothing, and reduc'd to nothing again? or if created out of something, whether it was out of elementary fire, and the ordinary matter of other clouds? Several maintain, that one side of it was obscure, and t'other bright; that it was a symbol of the Trinity, and that the second person thereof dwelt in it. This *Pillar* has prov'd a fruitful field of Allegories to the *Fathers* and other Divines, who, without any difficulty in the world, find in it the divine and humane nature of CHRIST, with other things no less admirable and sublime. When I mention'd the Rabbinical dreams about the creation of this *Pillar* or *Cloud*, I forgot to relate that several of 'em held it to have been created on the evening of the first Sabbath, tho GOD is said to have rested that day from all his works. But this Evening was no part of the Sabbath, according to the way of dividing time by the modern Jews. To be sure the sacred Pillars of the Heathens had their original from the guiding Pillar of the Israelites, as not a few good Christians have affirm'd.

²⁸ HUETIUS, in what he calls his *Demonstratio*

28. Atque haec pensanti mihi probabile fit, columnas illas celebres HERCULIS ex columna ignea, Ebraeorum exercitui praecunte, originem habuisse— Et nos jam observavimus ex CLEMENTE Alexandrino. BACCHUM et APOLLINEM, qui MOSIS icones sunt, Columnae symbolo, propter eandem Columnam, Israelitarum ducem, fuisse expressos—Tot commentitias Columnas peperit una haec Columna, in qua delitescens dominus, ducem se itineris Ebraeis praebuit—&c. &c. *Propos. IV. Sect. de libro JOSEPHI, num. 13.*

Evangé-

Evangelica, finds it in the Temple of *APOLLO*, nay in the Mysteries of *BACCHUS*; and gravely says, that it gave rise to the Pillars of *HERCULES*, and to the other memorial Pillars of the antients. 'Tis pity he has not found their Architecture and Orders in it, which he might have done as easily as the rest. In effect, there have been such as disputed, whether it was an upright or an inverted column, because smoke spreads larger as it mounts: and if such fancies be indulg'd, it may be prov'd to have been a wreath'd column, since the ascending of smoke appears spiral; and yet neither wreath'd nor inverted, but straight and pyramidal, which is the proper motion of flame. Finally the Jews expect, that, upon the future return of the twelve Tribes, at the coming of the *MESSIAH*, from all the countries where they are dispers'd; this *Cloud* will again precede them to the holy land, whither I wish them a good journey: tho, during the time of their waiting, I am farr from being weary of their company here; where they are most useful subjects, and many of 'em my very good friends.

XXIV. IN the works of a fam'd Commentator, no less a fine Gentleman than a finish'd Schollar, I find there was some body (where or when we are not told) who maintain'd that the Fire and Smoke, preceeding the Israelites in the wilderness, was the *sacred inextinguishable Fire* carry'd on the Altar for burnt-offrings and other sacrifices. The falsity of this opinion appears at first sight. There is no mention of such a sacred inextinguishable fire among the first Egyptians, or the Hebrews their inmates and slaves, nor yet among the antediluvian or postdiluvian Patriarchs: every thing, that can be offer'd to this purpose, being palpably groundless and precarious. As for the ordinary fire, whether

- ther for dressing of meat or other necessary uses; it cou'd not be wanting in an Army of more than six hundred thousand men; and instances without number we cou'd produce they had it, shou'd any require, what all men (without such proofs) will suppose. A portable Altar the Israelites had none, on their coming out of Egypt. The first mention of any Altar among them, is a direction to
- Exod. 20.** raise one of earth or of unhewn stones, neither
24, 25, 26. sort portable most certainly, and onely to be us'd on transient occasions. The first Altar we read
- Ibid. 24.** erected by **MOSES** himself, was of unhewn stones;
4. which had been a needless labor, were there a portable one then, as afterwards, in the camp. Neither did **AARON**, who was not yet a Priest, nor any other Priests, bring sacred Fire from Egypt: for they were some of the *First-born* that offer'd sacrifice on this first Altar of **MOSES**, he himself officiating with them, and not the least mention of sacred or extraordinary fire. Hear
- Ver. 5, 6.** the very words. *And he sent young men of the children of Israel, which offer'd burnt-offrings, and sacrific'd peace-offrings of oxen unto the LORD: and MOSES took half the blood, and put it in basins, and half of the blood he sprinkl'd on the Altar, &c.* When the Tabernacle with its furniture was order'd to be built, two portable Altars were likewise directed to be made; besides which they never us'd any other, till they came into the land of *Canaan*. To begin with the last, the one was
- Ibid. 30.** the *Altar of incense*, cover'd with gold, and plac'd
1, &c. before the Ark in the Sanctuary. But this is not that in question. The other was the *Altar of*
- Ibid. 27.** *burnt-offring*, five cubits square, and cover'd with
1--6. brass, with its rings and staves on each side to carry it. On this there was to be a *perpetual Fire*,
- Levit. 6.** which was first kindl'd a little after **AARON** had
8--13. been constituted High-priest. Now, that the
Ibid. 9. 24. fire

fire of this Altar was not the fire that shou'd guide the Israelites, is manifest from various considerations, of which I shall onely allege a few. In the first place, these fires were for different uses, the one for offering sacrifice, the other for showing the way. Or if it shou'd be said, that one and the same fire might serve for both these purposes, I answer, that in Egypt, in the wilderness on the other side of the red sea, they had the fire for showing the way: whereas the perpetual fire for sacrifice was instituted on this side, at the foot of mount Sinai in Arabia; and no mention made of any other use, but the contrary strongly imply'd. In the next place, the sacred fire was in the court of the Tabernacle, the guiding fire on the top of it; as, on a march, the one was often carry'd in the middle of the Camp, the other always aloft before it. The Altar, in the third place, was not, from the description of it, made to be hoisted up on the top of the Tabernacle, or on a long Pole before the Army; nor cou'd it conveniently, if at all, be set up or let down at pleasure: whereas an iron pot, or any such machine still us'd for the same end, may be easily hoisted to the top of a Pole, where it is to hang on a crook; as such a Pole might be no less readily fixt on the Tabernacle, than a Flagstaff on a castle or the stern of a ship. Notwithstanding the present use of the compass, such a guidance by fire is still practis'd among the Caravans of the East, about which all travellers agree. The fires, which go before the numerous host of Pilgrims, yearly travelling from Grand Cairo in Egypt to Mecca in Arabia, are called *Shamalars*; being carried in iron Pots on long Poles, the most obvious method of ordering fire and smoke to such a purpose. So natural is this way, that it looks superfluous in the moderns to have express'd it; and tis
for

for this reason that neither the author of the *Pentateuch*, nor the historians of DARIUS and ALEXANDER, have specify'd the fuel of their fires for signals or guidance.

XXV. AFTER having demonstrated, that the *Pillar of Cloud and Fire* was not miraculous, this fancy of the *sacred fire* cou'd not take up much of my time: and therefore I think it now fit to discharge the promise I made above, of showing that the *Angel of the LORD*, which carry'd the Pillar behind the Israelites, or between them and the Egyptians, was a mere mortal man, the overseer or director of the portable fire, and the guide of the Israelites in the wilderness. Perhaps I may further acquaint you with his family before I have done; which I suppose is a secret about Angels, hitherto unknown; and therefore, if made out, will not onely spoil a world of quaint allegories and typical observations: but, to the great mortification of a thousand booksellers, turn many intire treatises to waste Paper. This will probably occasion certain people to make a noise: but so long as I am perswaded Truth's on my side, I shall be as much pleas'd, as they are sure to be angry. To know then, whether it was a real and proper Angel that guided the Israelites, and manag'd the Cloud, this must be either gather'd from the word *Angel*, or from the phrase the *Angel of the LORD*, or from the person's actions, who's call'd an *Angel*. As for his actions in the government of the Pillar or Cloud, I have already explain'd them all, and shown that not onely they might be done by natural and ordinary means; but that other nations did the like in every respect, without needing or pretending the assistance of any supernatural or extraordinary power. This I have so copiously perform'd, that I may well

supercede

superfede repetition; not having over-look'd (to the best of my remembrance) any one text, where the *Cloud* or *Fire* is mention'd. It cannot simply and peremptorily be concluded from the word *Angel*, that the director of the guiding *Pillar* was other than a man: for the Hebrew word is not less general than the Grec word, from which we have form'd *Angel*. It signifies any *Messenger* whatsoever, mortal or immortal; so that circumstances alone can determine, what kind of messenger is meant. This is the reason that our Translators, to avoid ambiguity, render it *Messenger* or *Ambassador*, when betokening a man; and *Angel*, when it is put for a spirit. The rule is good, were it accurately observ'd. In the thirty second chapter of *Genesis* it is written, *And JACOB went on his way, and the Angels of GOD met him—and JACOB sent Messengers before him to ESAU his brother.* Here tis the self-same word that in the first verse is render'd *Angels*, and in the third verse *Messengers*: but circumstances rightly determin'd the Translators. Thus in *Genesis* the sixteenth chapter, and in the thirteenth chapter of *Judges*, as in a world of other places, it signifies an *Angel* or *Angels* properly so call'd; and in certain places of the books of *Kings*, *Chronicles*, *ISAIAH*, *JEREMIAH*, *EZEKIEL*, and *NAHUM*, to name no more, it signifies *Messengers* and *Ambassadors*. The original word therefore denotes men as well as Angels, and always the former where human actions are onely described: since we must never have recourse to miracles, except where nature falls short, and is visibly defective. But the Translators have not always scrupulously follow'd the rule, they so happily propos'd to themselves; for sometimes they translate the word *Messenger*, when they do not understand it of a mere man, whatever

מַלְאָכִים

from the root מלך.

מַלְאָכִים

is function. מַלְאָכִים.

Gen. 32.

1. 3.

Gen. 16. 7.

Judg. 13.

3. &c.

2 Kings 6.

32.

2 Chron.

36. 15. 16.

Isai. 30. 4.

Jer. 27. 3.

Ezek. 17.

Nah. 2. 13.

ever

- Mal. 3. 1. ever others may do: as in MALACHY; *behold, I will send my Messenger, and he shall prepare the way before me, and the LORD, whom ye seek, shall suddenly come to his temple; even the Messenger of the covenant, whom ye delight in, behold he shall come, saith the LORD of hosts.* In the preceding chapter,
- Ibid. 2. 7. the Priest is properly call'd a *Messenger*, where I wonder they have not (after the vulgar) translated *Angel*. This they might as consistently have done,
- Rev. 1. 20. as the *seven Angels* of the Churches of *Asia*, whom
& 2. 1, & they do not onely contend to have been men, but
seq. *Bishops* say they of the Church of England, *Presbyters* say they of the Church of Scotland, and *Messengers* say the Independents, more agreably to the text and their peculiar system. 'Tis acknowledg'd however that these Angels were men, and some of 'em none of the best; so that, comparing this with the other places I have cited, the word *Angel* of it self imports nothing extraordinary, much less supernatural.

XXVI. BUT perhaps it will be urg'd that the *Angel of the LORD* signifies more than a man; to which I answer that it does no more so than the *prophet of the LORD*, the *servant of the LORD*, or any other such expression, except where circumstances inforce the contrary: and this is the reason why I conclude, that the *Angel of the LORD*, who directed the *Pillar*, was a mere man; because all that he did might be done by man, and has been actually done by many men. He was JEHOVAH the King of Israel's Ambassador or Messenger, to guide his subjects thro the wilderness, to the land where it was intended they shou'd set up the *Theocracy*. I shall have abundant occasion, in a work I have more than once mention'd, to show that the *Angel of the LORD* (a phrase not seldom signifying an *Angel* in the proper sense) is frequently so translated, when it shou'd

shou'd have been *the Messenger of the LORD*, as his Priests and Prophets are in many places call'd. There I shall without much difficulty evince, notwithstanding the pompous explications of the Jewish Rabbins and the Christian Divines, that the *Angel* describ'd in *Exodus*, which had or bore the name of the LORD, and that was to go before the Israelites into the land of Canaan, was also a man. In the mean time I propose to people's consideration the following passage, out of the book of *Judges*. *An Angel of the LORD came up from Gilgal to Bochim, and said, I made you to go out of Egypt, and have brought you into the land which I sware unto your fathers; and I said, I will never break my covenant with you: and ye shall make no league with the inhabitants of this land, you shall throw down their Altars. But ye have not obey'd my voice: why have ye done all this? Wherefore I also said, I will not drive them out from before you; but they shall be as thorns in your sides, and their Gods shall be a snare unto you. And it came to pass, when the Angel of the LORD spoke these words unto all the children of Israel, that the people lift up their voice and wept: and they called the name of that place Bochim, and they sacrific'd there unto the LORD.* Here, notwithstanding the phrase of *the Angel of the LORD*, the best interpreters have been asham'd to understand it of any other than a Prophet, travelling a good way probably on foot, who spoke in the name of the LORD, and only repeated the words of the *Pentateuch*, to a people that had already begun to forget them, but upon his remonstrance shou'd some signs of repentance. Yet for all this there are those, who, wherever they meet with the words LORD or *Angel*, conceive no longer any thing human, nothing less than miraculous. 'Tis not to them, I own it, that I

E address

Exod. 23.

20, 21, 22,

23.

Judg. 2. 1;

2, 3, 4, 5.

address my self in this Discourse; but to such as understand, or are willing to learn, the stile of the *Old Testament*. These will find, that as the LORD was the King of the Israelites, he was said to *go before them*; because of the *Ark* and other symbols of his presence, as well as that his Generals MOSES and JOSHUA did lead them: and indeed all the actions of these and such others, as of the High-priests and of the Prophets (if agreeable to his Laws) are call'd his actions, those of all Ministers being ever attributed to the Prince whom they serve and obey.

XXVII. THE same is as true of the chief Guide of the Israelites, no mean Officer, and subject onely to the General himself: such an institution as this being as antient as it is natural. VEGETIUS with great judgment²⁹ observes, that *from all antiquity every nation has discover'd this truth; that the whole Army shou'd know by signals, and obey, whatever the General alone shou'd judge convenient*. But even the General, when ignorant of the way, must rely on the Guide, who then properly directs the signals: for, as the same VEGETIUS³⁰ has it, *whithersoever the Leader orders the Ensigns to move, that way the soldiers must necessarily march along with their colors*, to use our English expression. These things thus explain'd, it remains onely to know, who was this Guide and Director? not that the question is of very much importance, or that any thing we have hitherto said about the main point, wou'd be

29. Antiquus omnium gentium usus invenit, quomodo, quod solus Dux utile judicasset, per signa totus agnosceret at sequeretur exercitus. *Lib. 3. cap. 5.*

30. Quocunque enim haec ferri jussit Ductor, cò necesse est, signum suum comitantes, milites pergant. *Ibid.*

the less true; shou'd we not be able to resolve it: but that a lover of Truth is pleas'd with the unriddling of the meanest circumstances; tho purely incidental, as still reflecting more light and certitude on the subject. I answer then; that for the greatest part of the time, if not during the whole time, this Guide was no other than HOBAB, the brother-in-law of MOSES; who was born and bred in the wilderness; and consequently well acquainted with the several parts of it. This appears out of the book of *Numbers*, where HOBAB expressing a design of returning back to his own countrey of Midian, as his father JETHRO did before (for we shall prove JETHRO was his father, and RAGUEL his grandfather) MOSES said unto HOBAB, the son of RAGUEL the Midianite MOSES's father-in-law; we are journeying unto the place of which the LORD said, I will give it you: come thou with us, and we will do thee good; for the LORD hath spoken good concerning Israel. And he said unto him; I will not go; but I will depart to mine own land, and to my kindred. And he said, leave us not; I pray thee; for as much as thou knowest how we are to incamp in the wilderness, and thou mayest be to us instead of eyes: and it shall be, if thou goest with us; yea it shall be; that what goodness the LORD shall do unto us; the same will we do unto thee. And they departed from the mount of the LORD three days journey; and the Ark of the Covenant of the LORD went before them in the three days journey; to search out a resting place for them: and the Cloud of the LORD was upon them by day; when they went out of the Camp. The things to be briefly remark'd here; are, that HOBAB signifying his desire of returning to his own countrey and kindred (particularly to his father JETHRO, who had departed before)

Num. 10.
29, 30, 31,
32, 33, 34,

HOBAB.

MOSES:

Num.

Exod. 18:

27.

fore) MOSES is earnest with him to stay for two weighty reasons. The first of these is, that HOBAB knew how they were to incamp in the wilderness, which shows that he was already employ'd in this matter: and the second is, that in the rest of their way, to the land they were going to conquer, he might serve them instead of eyes, or be their Guide. The more effectually to determine HOBAB to this choice, MOSES promises him a share in the good fortune of the Israelites, who were likely to get possession of a much better territory than Midian, a barren part of the wilderness; in comparison of which Judea flow'd with milk and honey, or abounded with all things. Then it is immediately added (without any mention of HOBAB's persisting in his resolution, but a plain implication of his accepting such advantageous conditions, which will presently appear he did) that they march'd forward three days journey; the *Ark* born before them, representing JEHOVAH their King's presence, and the *Cloud* of JEHOVAH showing them the way as hitherto. The consideration of these particulars weigh'd so farr with me some years ago, that I then purpos'd to intitle this *Dissertation* HOBAB: but as I wou'd guard against the cavils of those, who, finding nothing material to criticize, will be nibbling at indifferent incidents, I afterwards chang'd my mind: since, tho it be not impossible that HOBAB might continue in this post forty years, and that it is probable he went to join MOSES, as soon as ever the Israelitish expedition was begun; yet tis likewise as possible, that he might not be the first Guide in the wilderness of Etham, nor live till the passage of Jordan, when the Pillar became useless for the future.

XXVIII. TO crown our work, I shall here be at some small pains to solve the difficulties, that have been started by not a few Commentators, about this same HOBAB; who is sometimes confounded with his father, sometimes with his grandfather, and at other times with both. There have not been wanting therefore, who made RAGUEL or REHUEL (according to the different pronunciation of the Letter *Hajin*) I say RAGUEL, JETHRO, y and HOBAB, to be all one and the same person: tho it be manifest from our last citation out of *Numbers*, that at least RAGUEL and HOBAB were not the same, since HOBAB is there expressly call'd ^{Num. 10.} *the son of RAGUEL the Midianite, MOSES's father-in-law.* But which of them was the father-in-law is another doubt; because, by reason of an ambiguity very common in the Hebrew language, the place may be so constru'd, as to make either RAGUEL or HOBAB the father-in-law, which nothing but circumstances can decide: and by these circumstances it will be evident, that neither of them was literally and properly MOSES's father-in law; tho either of them might be figuratively and customarily so stil'd. While the grandfather lives, he's still head of the family, and call'd father by all his descendants. This was a common usage in the East, of which there are manifold examples in the *Old Testament*, where even a deceas'd grandfather is call'd father by his grandchild. *Except the God of my father* ^{Gen. 31.} *(says JACOB to LABAN) the God of ABRAHAM,* ^{42.} *and the terror of ISAAC, had been with me, surely thou hadst sent me away now emty.* Thus LABAN, ^{Ibid. ver.} to produce no more authorities in a matter so ^{43.} clear, calls JACOB's children his own, because they were born of his daughters. Now RAGUEL was the grandfather of ZIPPORAH MOSES's

wife, JETHRO's daughter; notwithstanding that she and the rest are, after the oriental manner, nam'd the children of RAGUEL, who for the same reason was call'd MOSES's father-in-law. This account will be very easy to any one, that carefully compares together the second, third, fourth, and eighteenth chapters of *Exodus*, where RAGUEL is mention'd the first time, and JETHRO ever after, as being more nearly concern'd in the affairs of his daughter. He was not a little proud, we may easily imagine, to have so great a man for his son-in-law as MOSES became; and therefore he not only waited on him at mount Sinai (RAGUEL being probably too old for a journey) but assisted him with excellent advice, towards settling the Government of the Israelites. That RAGUEL was the father of JETHRO is the opinion of ABEN EZRA and DRUSIUS: but things themselves weigh more with me than all subsequent authority. As RAGUEL and JETHRO, so this last and his Son HOBAB have been confounded together, by reason of the equivoque I have remark'd before in the tenth of *Numbers*: yet, setting aside all considerations about the multiplicity of names (a thing very uncertain, and subject to perpetual wrangling) we are help'd out here by obvious circumstances, to prove that JETHRO and HOBAB were not the same person; since JETHRO had actually departed to his own country, long before MOSES made it his request to HOBAB, to direct the incampment and marches of the Israelites in the wilderness. As HOBAB was call'd the son of his grandfather, there is no impropriety in calling him MOSES's father-in-law, brothers standing instead of fathers to their sisters; especially if the father be dead or absent. THEOPHORET did not only maintain HOBAB to be in reality

Exod. 2. 18.
& 2. 1. &
4. 18. & 18.
1—27.

Num. 10.
29.

Exod. 18.
27.

Num. 10.
29.

reality MOSES's ³¹ *brother-in-law*, tho customarily, or by an Ellipsis, call'd his *father-in-law*; but says that, *in his own time, brothers-in-law us'd to be stil'd fathers-in-law*. However that were, the circumstances I have instanc'd, do sufficiently prove that this was the case of HOBAB; over and above his going up with the children of Israel, and obtaining large possessions among them, for his pains and services.

XXIX. ERE I make out this last point, it will not be amiss to give an example, into what intricacies and labyrinths the most learned Critics are apt somtimes to throw themselves, by taking any thing for granted; or being born away, as by a violent stream, with popular prejudices. Passing over the dotages of Bigots, and the subtrefuges of Hypocrites, I shall pitch upon a great man indeed, and one that I shall always reckon such, tho he differs from me in this whole affair. But I shall never make an agreement with my own notions, to be the measure of other men's abilities: being likewise fully persuaded, that whoever is guilty of this mean and envious practice, pleases none but the like narrow-soul'd creatures with himself. Monsieur LE CLERC, whose *critical Commentaries* I have justly commended above, believes the *Cloud* to have been miraculous (contrary to the heretical disposition imputed by his adversaries) and takes it for granted that JETHRO and HOBAB, if not RAGUEL, were one and the same man. This involves him in great difficulties, out of which he finds no issue, but by saying that the request of MOSES to HOBAB

31. Πενδερον αυτον κεκληκεν, ως της γαμετης αδελφον: και γαρ νυν πολλοι τους τοιουτους πενδειδας καλουσιν.
Quaest. 3. in Judic.

Num. 10.
29, &c.

for guiding the Israelites (evidently inconsistent with the miraculous Pillar) is not only misplac'd in the book of *Numbers*, but ought even to be carry'd back over the belly of *Leviticus*, and plac'd between the 26th and 27th verses of the 18th chapter of *Exodus*. I shall not insist on what he formerly objected himself, with so much wit, to the loose scrolls of Father SIMON: but barely say, that, by indulging this practice, every thing may be made of any thing in the most senseless book in the world; and the contents of the best book, be render'd on a level with the worst. I take this transposing to be well-meant zeal in others, who are sincere in thus proceeding, as Monsieur LE CLERC in particular; but in me I own it wou'd be both criminal, and profane: criminal, in using any book so, where I was certain it did not need it, but purposely to serve a turn; and profane, in jumbling a sacred book, after a manner I shou'd esteem ridiculous in the most trivial performance. The words of this learned man (lest I shou'd be thought to charge him wrongfully) are as ³² follows. *These circumstances, had the series of times and things been observ'd, shou'd be join'd with those that are contain'd in the 18th chapter of Exodus, and be inserted after the 26th verse: for it does not seem probable that old HOBAB, or REHUEL, came twice to the camp*

32. Hæc circumstantiæ, si ordo temporis et rerum servaretur, debuissent conjungi cum ijs, quæ habentur Exod. 18, et quidem post versum 26 inseri: non videtur enim senex CHOBABUS, aut REHUEL, bis venisse in castra Hebræorum, et bis abiisse. Hæc quoque illi dixisse videtur MOSES, antequam sciret Nubem perpetuam fore duceem Israelicis: neque enim quæ habentur versu 31, consistere possunt cum ductu Nubis. Nisi Deus Israelitis per Arabicas solitudines dux viæ fuisset, utilis ei futura erat hominis locorum periti opera: sed cum loca castris capiendis signaret Nubes, alio viæ duce non indigebant Israelitæ. *Ad cap. 10. Num. vers. 29.*

of the Hebrews, and departed twice from thence. Besides that MOSES seems to have spoken these things to him, before he knew that the Cloud was to be a perpetual Guide to the Israelites: for the contents of the 31st verse, can no way consist with the guidance of the Cloud. Indeed if GOD had not show'd the way to the Israelites thro the Arabian deserts, the help of a man, well acquainted with those places, must have prov'd very useful to them: but seeing the Cloud did regularly mark the places fit for pitching their camps, the Israelites stood in need of no other Guide to point out the way to them. Our System is subject to none of these difficulties. RAGUEL never came to the camp of the Israelites, JETHRO came once, and HOBAB always accompany'd MOSES.

XXX. BUT leaving the excuse Monsieur LE CLERC makes for the forefaid passage, supposing it originally part of the book of *Numbers*, to the reader's judgment; I come now to show, that HOBAB and his family proceded with the Israelites towards the land of Canaan. The offer that MOSES made him was too tempting to be refus'd, and we have all imaginable reason to suppose, that he gladly accepted the favor. I grant there's no further occasion of mentioning him on the way; but, after the settlement of the Israelites in Canaan, we find, according to the ingagement of MOSES, ample provision made for the family of HOBAB by name: a family in high repute, enjoying large territories, and eminently zealous for the Jewish Law. They were call'd *Kenites*, but not to be confounded with the old Cananean *Kenites*, to some of whose possessions it may be they succeded. The first time we meet with the Midianitish *Kenites*, is in the book of *Judges*, and in these words. *The children of the Kenite*, MOSES's father.

Ad cap. 10.
ver. 30.

Gen. 15.
19.
Num. 24.
21.

Jud. 1. 16.

father-in-law, went up out of the city of Palm-trees, with the children of Judah, into the wilderness of Judah, which lyeth in the south of Arad, and they went and dwelt among the people. The diverse acceptations of father-in-law having been explain'd before, the question now turns upon this: who was the immediate stock of the flourishing branches of the Kenites? and this is fully answer'd in the

Ibid. 4. 11. same book of Judges, HEBER the Kenite, which was of the children of HOBAB, the father-in-law of MOSES, had sever'd himself from the Kenites, and pitch'd his tent unto the plain of Zaanaïm, which

ver. 17. is by Kedesh. A little after you read, that there was peace between JABIN the King of Hazor, and the house of HEBER the Kenite: wherby it appears how potent the posterity of HOBAB became, in consequence of the rewards promis'd him by MOSES; when one branch of them was so considerable, as to enter into treaty with a Prince,

Ibid. ver. 3. who had nine hundred chariots of Iron. By the way, it was the wife of this HEBER, byname JAEEL, who murder'd SISERA the general in his sleep; notwithstanding he came for shelter to her tent on her own invitation, that she had refresh'd him with food; and that he ought to expect all security from the peace establish'd between his master JABIN and her husband HEBER. Some of these Kenites liv'd among the Amalekites, which last when SAUL had resolv'd to root out, he

Sam. 15. said unto the Kenites, go, depart, get you down from among the Amalekites lest I destroy you with them: for ye shew'd kindness to all the children of Israel, when they came up out of Egypt. So the Kenites departed from among the Amalekites. The obligation of showing the way thro the wilderness, was never to be forgotten, as certainly it ought not. They are mention'd again
twice

twice in the first book of SAMUEL, from which I have taken this passage. They were so heartily addicted to the Law of MOSES, notwithstanding their progenitors RAGUEL and JETHRO were Priests of Midian (which is never said of HOBAB) that when JEHU would persuade the nation of his aversion to BAAL and all Idolatry, he chose for his most credible witness, JONADAB the Son of RECHAB, an illustrious man of this family. After inquiring if his heart was right, he took him up into his chariot; and he said, come with me, see my zeal for the LORD. This JONADAB instituted in his own family and posterity the memorable sect of the RECHABITES, denominated from his father, and living in the nearest conformity of all mortals to the dictates of nature; both for the preservation of health, and the avoiding of vanity, envy, ambition, carking cares, and endless toil. An account of 'em will best sound from their own mouths. *I set before the sons of the house of the Rechabites (says JEREMIAH) pots full of wine and cups; and I said unto them, drink ye wine. But they said, we will drink no wine: for JONADAB, the son of RECHAB, our father, commanded us, saying; ye shall drink no wine, neither ye, nor your sons for ever. Neither shall ye build house, nor sow seed, nor plant vineyard, nor have any: but all your days ye shall dwell in tents, that ye may live many days in the land, where ye be strangers. Thus have we obey'd the voice of JONADAB, the son of RECHAB, our father, in all that he has charged us; to drink no wine all our days, we, our wives, our sons, nor our daughters: nor to build houses for us to dwell in, neither have we vineyard, nor field, nor seed; but we have dwelt in tents, and have obey'd, and done according to all that JONADAB, our father, commanded us.* These Rechabites might furnish

Ibid. 27. 10.
& 30. 29.

1 Chron. 2.
55.
2 Kings 8.
15, 16.

Jer. 35.
5—10.

nish us with abundance of useful reflections: but this *Dissertation*, wherein I have endeavor'd that precision shou'd reign next to perspicuity, is long enough already. I cou'd easily enlarge it, especially in this latter part, wou'd I produce all the shifts of the *Commentators*, each to serve his own hypothesis, concerning RAGUEL, JETHRO, and HOBAB. They come nearest the point, who make HOBAB to have been JETHRO's brother. But I shall never tempt the Reader's patience, where I have no prospect of instructing him: besides that the main subject of the *Cloud's not being miraculous*, can suffer nothing from wrangling about names by those; who wou'd rather have any portion of the sacred writings to pass for nonsense, than that I shou'd demonstrate it to be sense. In this however lies my comfort, that the BIBLE will ever preserve its dignity; and that the TRUTH will triumph at last, over all the prejudices of the ignorant or the interested.

F I N I S.

CLIDOPHORUS,

O R,

Of the EXOTERIC and ESOTERIC
PHILOSOPHY;

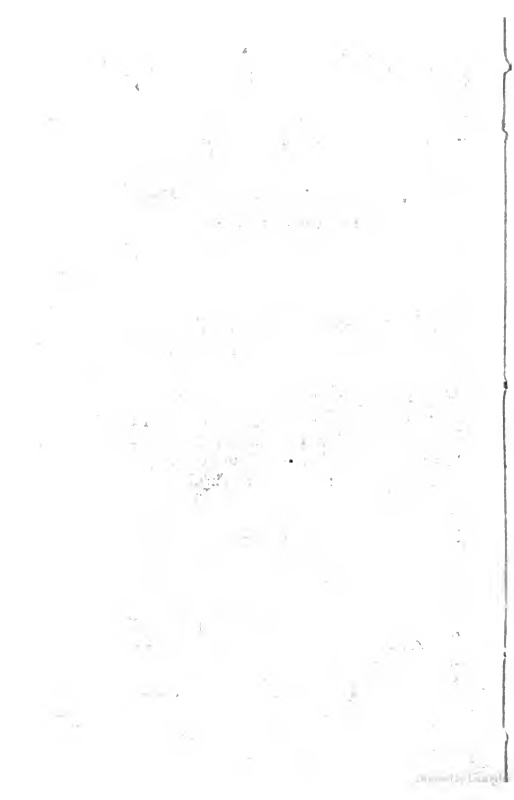
THAT IS,

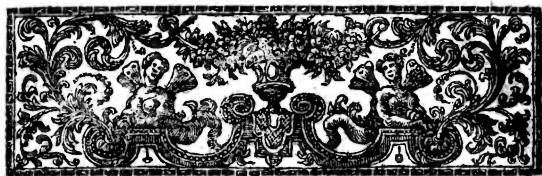
Of the *External* and *Internal Doctrine*
of the Ancients :

The one open and public, accommodated to popular prejudices and the RELIGIONS establish'd by Law; the other private and secret, wherein, to the few capable and discrete, was taught the real TRUTH stript of all disguises.

Χρὲν δὲ σε πάντα πυθεσθαι,
Ἡ μὲν ἀληθεὺς εὐπειθεῖσσι ἀτρεκέως ἵστορ;
Ἡ δὲ βροτῶν δόξας, τῶν οὐκ ἐτι πιστὸς ἀληθείης.
PARMENIDES apud. DIOG. LAERT. Lib. 9. Sect. 22.

LONDON, Printed in the YEAR 1720.





CLIDOPHORUS,

OR

Of the *Exoteric* and *Esoteric* Philosophy.

I.



O know the TRUTH is one thing, to tell it to others is another thing: and as all men profess to admire the first, so few men practise the last as they ought. At the same time that TRUTH is own'd to be more valuable

than wealth or honor, these are by most without hesitation prefer'd before it; which appears not onely by their eager application to procure riches and titles, while they abandon the study of TRUTH, or faintly pursue it: but also by the abject deference they shamelessly pay to men of power, and the indifference or neglect they commonly show to men of Learning. I shall not scrupulously inquire into the causes of this proceeding, which are various and multiform; but of all that can be assign'd, INTEREST certainly is the most general and prevailing: for men being observ'd to be naturally fond of TRUTH, tho'

thro laziness or occupation, few are capable to acquire the possession of it; some cunning persons thought they cou'd not better attain to Authority over the rest (which draws Riches after it of course) than by pretending to be masters of this same TRUTH. Next they gave out that they cou'd impart it to others, without putting them to any labor, or diverting them from any business: and as for a little expense, who wou'd grudge to give a price out of his transitory pelf for the invaluable jewel of Knowledge? or not think it equitable to bestow a moderate reward on men, that cou'd equally delight and benefit him? Nor did these crafty Empirics stop here. They knew the falsity of facts, and the fallacy of reasonings, might at one time or other be detected by men of penetration. Wherefore, as the Devil is God's ape, they boasted of a superior and supernatural knowledge, not subject to the rules of Criticism, nor a proper object of the Understanding. Nay, they went a greater length, openly maintaining that it was lawful to ly for the public good; so that the common people (said they) being incapable of reflection, ought to be manag'd by guile, and to be deluded by agreeable fables into obedience to their Governors. Thus MNEVIS, an Egyptian king, impos'd on his subjects, by feigning an extraordinary communication with heaven. ZOROASTER successfully practis'd the same art on the Bactrians and other neighboring nations. PYTHAGORAS, after hiding himself for some time (as if he were dead) appear'd again at Crotona, preaching the joys and torments of another life. His disciple ZAMOLXIS vaunted having receiv'd divine Revelations in a cave, whereby he gain'd such authority, as to prescribe what laws he pleas'd to the rude Scythians. MINOS and EPIMENIDES in Crete, publish'd the conferences

ferences they had with JUPITER in their several retirements from the society of other men, on whom they obtruded their own fictions for divine commands. Who has not read of NUMA's intimacy with the Goddess EGERIA? from whom, if his own word ought to be taken, he learnt the Religion he taught the Romans. I shall name no more out of the long list, which the learned have of such antiquated seducers; nor any among those whose Institutions still prevail, except for example fake FOHI, SOMMONOKODOM, MAHOMET, and CINGHIS-CHAN. DIODORUS SICULUS, and other antient writers, were not afraid to rank MOSES in this class, tho his laws be truly divine, without any mixture of weakness or folly. But as this incomparable Legislator ought to want no apology among Christians, so I have solely to do at present with those Heathen IMPOSTORS; who perceiving that what was built upon fraud, cou'd onely be supported by force, they made it capital to question their dictates, and highly disreputable so much as to examine, let alone to doubt of them. The Priests, for their own interest, were not wanting any where to promote such penal laws; and the Magistrates (partly thro Superstition proceeding from their ignorance; and partly thro Policy, to grasp at more power than the laws allow'd, by the assistance of the Priests) have been commonly very ready to enforce those laws, by what they call'd *wholesom severities*. Hence no room was left for the propagating of TRUTH, except at the expense of a man's life, or at least of his honor and employments, wherof numerous examples may be alledg'd. The Philosophers therefore, and other well-wishers to mankind in most nations, were constrain'd by this holy tyranny to make use of 'a two-fold doctrine; the one *Popular*, accom-

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modated

modated to the PREJUDICES of the vulgar, and to the receiv'd CUSTOMS or RELIGIONS: the other *Philosophical*, conformable to the nature of things, and consequently to TRUTH; which, with doors fast shut and under all other precautions, they communicated onely to friends of known probity, prudence, and capacity. These they generally call'd the *Exoteric* and *Esoteric*, or the *External* and *Internal Doctrines*. That such a distinction they us'd, and that they practis'd accordingly, I am now going to show (being the subject of this *Dissertation*) by a select Collection I made of passages to this purpose, out of abundance of others, scatter'd up and down the ancient writers.



II.



ET ere I begin this Collection, interspers'd with my own observations, I cannot but deplore such a depravity of human nature, as to find Christians unhappily constrain'd any where, to regulate their conduct according to this Heathen distinction; tho they profess the Religion of him, who is TRUTH *it self*, and whose service is perfect FREEDOM. They are commanded to LOVE each other, and to speak the TRUTH one to another: but they so obey, as if they were expressly injoin'd the contrary. Not onely every sect furiously opposes another, and all of 'em every one you can name; but those of the same sect stand in mutual opposition for the poorest trifles in the world, for airy distinctions, for a party-jargon,
for

for favorite sounds, nay oftentimes for syllables and letters. They manifest all the signs of a perfect hatred, by branding, defaming, and avoiding each other; their leaders ever showing 'em the example, as if they were afraid they shou'd come to a better understanding, and sooner or later perceive that they quarrel'd about nothing. These are facts not possible to be deny'd. And as little can it be deny'd, that, not content with this rancor of mind, or the narrowness of their peculiar schemes and notions; they heartily plague each other with fines and incapacities, with exile, imprisonment, and other numberless ways: not to mention the last of all evils Death, which at least is so in their opinion; till Persecution ends at length in the *Inquisition*, as the utmost perfection of this hellish *Oeconomy of faith*. In fine, daily experience sufficiently evinces, that there is no discovering, at least no declaring of TRUTH in most places, but at the hazard of a man's reputation, employment, or life. These circumstances cannot fail to beget the woful effects of insincerity, dissimulation, gross ignorance, and licentious barbarity. What's most of all to be lamented, is, that but too much of this leaven ferments in the purest *Churches*. What strange turns are given to controversies, about things in themselves indifferent, and where both sides of the question may be innocently maintain'd? What secret insinuations, what barefac'd calumnies, what unkind suggestions, what injurious treatment of those, who ought to be esteem'd and cherish'd as brethren? but who being thus forc'd to become enemies, and, sway'd by human frailty, are provok'd to repay their adversaries in the like coin with usury. Among *Priests* and *Ministers* in particular (leaving every one to assume the name he likes best, for they are no more agreed about names than any thing else) what unmanly pump-

ing and tale-bearing, what wiredrawing to an acknowledgement of their thoughts, and deposing 'em if they are frank, or suspecting 'em if reserv'd? Scurrility is the least exasperation, as being the commonest. This must of necessity produce shiftings, ambiguities, equivocations, and hypocrisy in all its shapes; which will not merely be call'd, but actually esteem'd, *necessary cautions*: occasion'd in all times and places by ambitious Priests, supported by their property the Mob; thus depriving us of the peace of life and the truth of religion, yea of philosophical discoveries and improvements, to the no small detriment of mankind. In all this affair Pride is ever join'd to Interest, for never was any Pride equal to the pretense of *Infalibility*; which has furnish'd this just observation, that as the Church of *Rome* claims to be ever in the right, so no other Churches will ever confess themselves to be in the wrong. Submit therefore you must right or wrong, or it will be the worse for you in all the respects I have mention'd. And yet (what's a natural consequence) do but sooth this spiritual arrogance, the most impious book shall pass current; witness that heap of *Scripture-contradictions*, as he thinks them, about Providence and the origin of the World according to the *MOSAIC* account, affectedly put together by *BERIGARDUS* in his *Circulus Pisanus*, a book otherwise very ingenious and useful. He endeavors even to prove, that the being of *GOD* cannot be known by reason, but only by faith; and that the authority of the books of *Scripture* cannot be prov'd by history or reason, but be implicitly and devoutly receiv'd. Yet this bouncing compliment to *Mother Church*, in the third part falsely printed the fifth, saves all. *There is more stress to be laid on any miracles receiv'd and approv'd by the Church (as the cure of a slight ague divinely wrought) than*

Part. 2.
Circ. 20.

Part. 3.
Circ. 3, 4.

Part. 3.
Circ. 3.
pag. 232.

than if any man shou'd see all who dy'd in this age brought to life again, than if mountains were remov'd out of their places; than if a new world was created: since in all these things there wou'd still remain the suspicion of magical fraud, whence they might be deem'd not really perform'd (which one wou'd think were easier suspected of an ague) but rather to be the fancies of our imaginations, or the illusions of our senses. The short and the long of this is, that we must believe the Church rather than our own eys; if BERIGARDUS did not banter, as well as coaks the old Lady's vanity. I doubt not, for my part, but he made use of the *Exoteric and Esoteric distinction*, to save his bacon, as we say: or if any, who has not read those *Circles* or *Dialogues*, will have it that he did not, with all my heart; but I am just going to demonstrate that others did, and that it was the common practice of all the antient Philosophers.



III.



HERFORE PARMENIDES was unquestionably in the right, when he affirm'd that *there are two sorts of Philosophy, the one according to TRUTH, the other according to OPINION*: which is not onely true of the Greeks and Romans, but as certainly so of other nations much more antient. I know that the words of PARMENIDES may be commodiously understood of the fallaciousness and uncertainty of the Senses, which often represent things otherwise than they are in themselves, and must therefore be examin'd and

DIOG. LA-
ERT. lib. 9.
Sect. 22.

In ARISTOT. lib.
I. Physicor.

Videantur
HERODOTUS, DIO-
DORUS SICULUS,
STRABO,
PLUTARCHUS, JAM-
BLICHUS,
aliique bene
multi.
De ISIDE
et OSIRIDE,
Edit. Par.
pag. 354.

Id. Ibid.

corrected by Reason. From the Senses arises Opinion, from Reason Demonstration: on the former are huddl'd up the prejudices of the Vulgar, following the bare appearance of things; on the latter are founded the axioms of the Wise, who consider things as they are in themselves. But this is not the twofold Philosophy that makes our subject, nor what the author intended, but the other represented by PHILOPONUS. This writer assures us, that PARMENIDES in his *Exoterics* (or books accommodated to the public taste) says *fire and water are the beginning or principle of all things*, as if he had acknowledg'd the world to have been created: but that in his *Esoterics* (or books compil'd according to the truth) he says *the Universe is one, infinite, and immutable*. Here not only the distinction of *Exoterics* and *Esoterics* is literally to be learnt, but an example of it likewise alledg'd; namely, a beginning of things *Exoterically*, but *Esoterically* the eternity and incorruptibility of the Universe. The Egyptians, who were the wisest of mortals, had a twofold doctrine: the one secret, and in that very respect sacred; the other popular, and consequently vulgar. Who is there, that is ignorant of their sacred Letters, Hieroglyphics, Forms, Symbols, Enigmas, and Fables? Farr and near was spread the fame of the Egyptian Philosophy, *concealing things under the appearance of Fables* (says PLUTARCH) and in *speeches that contain'd obscure indications and arguments of the Truth: which they themselves expressly declare, by placing Sphynxes before most of their Temples; thus insinuating, that their doctrine concerning sacred things, consists in a sort of wisdom which is designedly perplexed, and lying hid under study'd veils*. That we may give a specimen of such things as they conceal'd, the fame of MINERVA (says PLUTARCH again) *whom they think to be the same with*

with Isis, has this Inscription at Sais: I AM ALL THAT WAS, IS, AND SHALL BE: NOR HAS ANY MORTAL DISCOVER'D WHAT'S UNDER MY HOOD. Isis therefore, whom the vulgar believ'd to have been a *Queen*, and of whom they had a thousand different fables; was the *Nature of all things*, according to the Philosophers, who held the UNIVERSE to be the principal GOD, or the supreme being, and consequently abstruse or obscure, none seeing beyond the surface of Nature. But this they onely discover'd to the initiated. To that of Sais corresponds another Inscription still remaining at Capua; TO THEE, WHO ALONE ART ALL THINGS, O GODDESS Isis. Tho I am farr from designing to emty common places on this occasion, yet I cannot forbear inserting here part of a speech put into the mouth of Nature by APULEIUS. *Mov'd by thy prayers, O LUCIUS, behold NATURE, the parent of all things, standing before thee; the mistress of all the elements, the initial stock of ages, the highest of the higher and queen of the lower powers, the uniform appearance of Gods and Goddeses, who govern by my motions the luminous heighths of the sky, the salutary breezes of the sea, and the melancholy silence of the nether parts: whose one onely Deity under numerous forms, various rites, and different names, is ador'd by the whole world.* His prayer likewise to Isis, or rather to NATURE (as he himself explains it) may be read, with no less pleasure than instruction, in the same book. I cou'd bring many other proofs, that Isis in the mouth of the vulgar signify'd a *Queen*, and Nature in that of the Philosophers. PYTHAGORAS, that I may hastily pass over all others, travelling for knowlege to the Egyptians, suffer'd himself to be circumcis'd; that, getting admittance into

Id. ibid.

Metamor.
lib. 11. Edit.
Delphin.
pag 362.

CLEM. A- the Sanctuaries, he might from the Priests and
 lex. Strom. the Prophets learn the genuin sense of the my-
 lib. 1. Edit. stical doctrine: which, as I said before, they
 POTTER. discover'd to none, except when intreated with
 pag. 354. the utmost importunity, and soften'd by com-
 plaisance and assiduity.



IV.



HIS double manner of teaching was also in use among other oriental nations, especially the Ethiopians and Babylonians, the antient and modern Bramins, the Syrians, Persians, and the rest, principally instructed by ZOROASTER. The Classic books, and late Travels to this purpose, are in every body's hands. The Druids of the Gauls and Britons wou'd by no means deliver their mysteries or secret doctrines, to any except the initiated: that I may say nothing of the Hetruscans, and other Occidental nations, no more than of the present Chinese, Siamese, and Indians properly so call'd; the thing being so notorious, as to be deny'd by no body. From these several peoples, let us procede to the Greec Philosophers. Most celebrated is the *secret discipline* of PYTHAGORAS, after which original the ARISTOTELIAN *Acroatics*, or if you had rather *Acroamatics*, have been copy'd. But of these latter anon. The disciples of PYTHAGORAS were either *Hearers* or *Mathematicians*, or *Exoterical* or *Esoterical*, whom we may render Exterior and Interior auditors. All things were declar'd to the *Esoterical* (but without witnesses) in a plain, perspicuous, and copious

DIOG.
 Laert. in
 prooem.
 Sect. 6. I-
 tem AM-
 MIAN. Mar-
 cellin. lib.
 15. cap. 9.

DIOG.
 Laert. in
 PYTHAG.
 Item JAM-
 BLIC. POR-
 PHYR. cum
 multis aliis.

copious speech : while every thing, on the contrary, was deliver'd to the *Exoterical*, in a perplext, obscure, and enigmatical manner; nor was any thing told clearly, except popular and vulgar matters. The silence injoin'd to the latter, or the probation they were to undergo, lasted five years, or two years at the least; but that of the former, whom they also stil'd and reputed *perfect*, was perpetual : not towards each other (as has been rashly believ'd by many) but onely towards all those, who were not of their fellowship; whence that most common maxim among them, that *all things ought not to be declar'd to all men*. They reserv'd their own doctrines to themselves, as so many holy secrets; or if any others happen'd to be present, they told their minds to each other by symbols and enigmas or parables: whence it has unluckily happen'd, that scarce any thing which was of use or moment among them, is come to the knowlege of the public; this being the true reason of the obscurity, or rather the almost intire loss, of the Pythagorean Philosophy. Of this conduct I shall give one example. *LYSIS* the Pythagorean severely chid his condisciple *HIPPARCHUS*, for having publish'd some points of the *Esoteric Philosophy*; and for having communicated to men, who were neither initiated, nor prepar'd by contemplation and the necessary sciences, their master's doctrine: whereupon he was expell'd out of the school, and a monument erected for him, according to the custom of the Pythagoreans, as if he had been actually dead.

DIAGEN.
Laert. lib 8.
Sect. 15.

JAMBLIC.
in vita PY-
THAG. cap.
17. n^o 75.

CLEM. A-
lex. Strom.
lib. 5. pag.
680. ORI-
GEN. contra
CELS. lib. 2.
Edit. Cant.
pag. 67. et
lib. 3. pag.
142.



V.



Strom. lib.
f. pag. 681.

Noct. At-
tic. lib. 20.
cap. 5.

Id. ibid.

Id. ibid.

Pag. 1115.

OR was such silence and reserve peculiar to the Pythagoreans. Let us therefore procede from the Samian to the Stagyrice. *The Aristotelians* (says CLEMENS Alexandrinus) assert, that of their writings some indeed are Esoteric; while others are vulgar, and Exoteric. This is very home to the point, and the passage is not a little confirm'd, if not much illustrated, by AULUS GELLIUS in the following words. *Tis said that of the books and arts, which the Philosopher ARISTOTLE, king ALEXANDER's tutor, deliver'd to his disciples, he had two sorts. Some he nam'd Exoteric, others Acroatic. Such were call'd Exoteric, as taught Rhetorical studies, the faculty of pleading or subtil disputations, and the knowledge of political affairs: but those were stil'd Acroatic, that pertain'd to the contemplation of Nature, and to dialectical disquisitions.* He admitted all his disciples without distinction, and even such of the people as pleas'd, to his Exoteric lessons, which he read in the evening: but he spent the morning in the Lyceum upon explaining the Acroatic or Esoteric doctrine, to which (pursues GELLIUS) he did not indifferently admit every body, but with caution and choice. To ALEXANDER, complaining that he publish'd and made common his Acroatic books, he answer'd, know that they are neither publish'd, nor yet unpublish'd; seeing they'll be onely intelligible to those, who have been my hearers. ARISTOTLE's Exoterics are mention'd by PLUTARCH, against COLOTES;

COLOTES; and before him by CICERO, who sometimes understands by them indigested and unfinished treatises, in contradistinction to such as were perfect and studiously polish'd. But his *Exoterics* are to be sought from none, preferably to ARISTOTLE himself, who refers to them in many places. The Stoic Philosophers, nay the Epicureans, had certain secrets among themselves, wherof they did not easily permit the reading to every body. PLATO wisely providing for his own safety, after the poysonous draught was administer'd to SOCRATES by profane and impious persons, wrote rather poetically, than philosophically: wherfore, by epically transforming the nature of things, the elements, and the celestial globes, with the passions of the body and the qualities of the mind, into Gods, Goddeses, Geniuses, and Demons, he furnish'd large materials for fables to the Platonics falsely so call'd; for night is not more unlike to day, than the modern to the primitive Platonics. *I pass over in silence* (says APULEIUS, who for all his affected luxuriancy of stile, is an excellent Commentator on the Antients) *those sublime and divine Platonic doctrines, understood by very few of the pious, and absolutely unknown to every one of the profane.* All PLATO's books are so full of the *Exoteric* and *Esoteric distinction*, which is the true key to his works, that out of them alone I cou'd write a sizable volum on this subject. Who is there that seems to speak more positively about a beginning of the world, or a *Creation* in our language, than he? and yet he's affirm'd by PHURNUTUS, to have maintain'd the UNIVERSE to be JOVE. Nay he plainly enough insinuates so much himself in diverse places. Besides that in his second book *de Republica*, he divides Theology into symbolical or mystical, and into philosophical or demonstrative,

Ad ATTIC.
lib. 4. ep.
16.

CLEM. Alex. Strom.
lib. 5.

In Apologia, pag.
419.

De nat. Deor. cap. 2.
AΛΛως. Edit. Gal. Amst. 1683.

strative, of which distinction he makes almost a perpetual use. Wherefore I wou'd advise certain persons, who affect citing of P^LATO before other writers, to deal fairly, by acquainting their readers in what sense he speaks: and whether from exotic tradition, or philosophical persuasion; whether Exoterically and Vulgarly, or Esoterically and as a Philosopher. But the Academics, the true followers of P^LATO (of whom presently by themselves) held quite another course, and a much better. *Ephesian* HERACLITUS, in the book which he intitul'd *Of Nature*, explain'd nothing clearly; whence he got the surname of *Scotinus*, or *Obscure*. Yet because he fell under the blame of several, on account of this obscurity, some body has honor'd his memory with the following Epigram.

DIOG. LA-
ERT. lib. 9:
Sect. 8.

Id. Ibid.

*You must not HERACLITUS slightly read,
The way is rugged, and the book obscure;
But if into his sense he does you lead,
All's plain, and like the sun it self most pure.*

The readers wanted a key, that might open 'em a passage into his secret meaning: and such a key, that I may hint it *en passant*, is to be, for the most part, borrow'd by the skilful from the writers themselves.

VI. BUT



VI.



UT dismissing the rest, which would be infinite labor to run over particularly, *it was the custom of the Academics* (says CIGERO) *to conceal their opinion; and not to discover it to any body, except to such as had liv'd with them even to old age.* I shou'd have thought this an over-caution, unless I had known the Superstitious to be so very jealous, and ever bent upon mischief. What CIGERO has somewhere written about others, does not less appositly agree to the Academics. *There are two sorts of books, says he: the one popularly written, which they call'd Exoteric; the other more perfectly written, namely the Esoteric, which they left in their Commentaries, or finish'd Pieces.* Hence he rightly concludes, that the same Philosophers *do not always seem to say the same thing,* tho they continu'd of the same opinion; which is as true as Truth it self, of many writers in our own time. Wherefore the incomprehensibility of the Academics, their dubitation and perpetual suspension of assent; were not so propos'd and recommended, as if in effect they always doubted (which is impossible) or that they retain'd their assent, by reason of the insuperable incomprehensibility of things: but first, because they were unwilling to declare their judgment of every thing indifferently; and secondly, they were willing safely to dispute concerning all subjects whatsoever, by equally maintaining both sides of the question. Nor will any man in his senses, we may reasonably

Apud AUGUSTIN.
contra Academ. lib.
6.

De fin. bonor. & malor. lib. 5.
cap. 5.

Ibid.

reasonably believe, deny them to have acted both wittily and wisely, as things then stood. *Moses*, the most illustrious Lawgiver of the Jews (that I may pass over in silence all the other Prophets, with their eternal types and allegories) is not disown'd by his followers, to have departed sometimes from the accurate truth of divine and natural matters; and frequently to accommodate his words, when speaking of *GOD* himself, to the capacity and preconceiv'd opinions of the vulgar. This is incontestable: and hence it is, that the *Rabbins* vend so many fables, and that there is such palpable darkness in the *Cabala* (I wish it rested only there) concerning the *Mosaic* Religion and Republic. Some of the *Rabbins*, however, were more subtle. What can be more *Esoteric* in some places, than the *Talmud*? which makes the Worlds not only plural, but also numberless; tho it specifies the number of eighteen thousand, a certain sum for an uncertain: besides that the *Cabala*, we just nam'd, makes the world infinite and eternal, increated and immense. *JESUS CHRIST* himself taught for the most part in parables, expressly forbidding *the children's bread*, or that which is holy, meaning the true doctrine, to be cast to the dogs: and admonishing his disciples, after the manner of the Philosophers, not to cast their pearls before swine; since these animals trampling such ill bestow'd gifts under their feet, and turning again upon their benefactors, not with gratitude but fury, will do their endeavor to tear them to pieces. This is ever the way of the sordid and the ignorant. *We speak wisdom among them that are perfect*, says *PAUL*: less profoundly therefore among the ruder sort, nor do the other *Apostles* (from whom I might bring many passages to this purpose) speak a different language; tho farr be it from me to make any comparison between

MAT. 15.

26. & 7. 6.

MAR. 7.

27.

MAT. 7. 6.

1 Cor. 2. 6.

tween them, and the nations or sects I have brought on the stage in this discourse. These, as we have shown, made use of fables out of fear or craft; those employ'd parables for edification, and the more effectual conveyance of their doctrine. Yet, that we may not leave this subject abruptly, the *first notions* are not better known, than are the symbols, tropes, types, allegories, shadows, and mysteries, which on every occasion are alledg'd by all kinds of Christians. 'Tis not a thing therefore either so strange or wonderful, that it shou'd be eagerly controverted on every side, that it shou'd be a matter of the nicest inquiry, and a question agitated with no small concern among so prodigious a variety of sects, *what was in reality the original and genuin Institution of JESUS?* and this whether it be, that at the beginning it was involv'd in such sacred obscurity; or rather that it was afterwards thus perplext, by the inventions of the wily or the imaginations of the weak. But in whatever manner it so happen'd, I am downright asham'd of those *Fathers*, who made such ordinary actions as eating bread, drinking wine, and dipping in water, or washing with it, to pass for *tremendous and inutterable Mysteries*. Very intelligible and apposite figures we grant 'em to be, very significative of the things they represent and exhibit; but containing nothing terrible or abstruse, much less inutterable or inconceivable. Nevertheless, what those *Fathers* onely feign'd to be MYSTERIES, that they might in nothing come short of the Heathenism they had quitted; their successors took care shou'd become unintelligible to some purpose, and be tremendous in more senses than one, or in any sense except that of the *Gospel*. Yet for as awful and frightful as the *Fathers* describ'd the Christian MYSTERIES, they order'd them to be most diligently conceal'd;

look

φεικτα,
 επιφοβα,
 φοβερα,
 κρυφια,
 απρητα, α-
 πορητα,
 απογυα
 μυστηρια

ceal'd; lest the Heathens, or others (to give their own reasons) might scorn and despise their simplicity.



VII.



UT why do I insist on particulars? since this distinction of *Exoterical* and *Esoterical* doctrines, was, as it were, the *Catholic establishment* of all nations; which shows that *Universality* is no infallible mark of *TRUTH*, unless it be maintain'd that there is more wisdom than folly, more honesty than wickedness, more knowledge than ignorance in the world. I have a cloud of witnesses to confirm what I have advanc'd: but let *CLEMENS Alexandrinus* be their spokesman and interpreter. *All they* (says he) *who have treated of divine subjects, whether Barbarians or Greeks, did conceal the PRINCIPLES of things; but deliver'd the TRUTH under enigmas and symbols, under allegories and metaphors.* And indeed, not to speak of designing men, many others were persuaded, that both natural and divine things might best be explain'd by figures. Among these the Philosopher *SALLUSTIUS* is not the least considerable: to whose authority notwithstanding, in this point, I am farr from assenting. He looks upon it as improper, *to be desirous to teach all men alike, what is true concerning the Gods; since this in the unwise, who are incapable of such instruction, will breed contempt, and in the wise laziness: whereas to conceal the Truth under Fables* (adds he) *refrains the former from despising, and necessitates the latter*

*Stromat.
lib. 5. pag.
658.*

*In libro de
Diis et
Mundo,
cap. 3.*

to *Philosophize* ; as obliging them to inquire into the right meaning of such Fables, which will not let time ly idle on their hands. But where is the necessity, what is the end, of teaching the Vulgar any thing they cannot understand or practife? and as for the Learned, tis a jest to talk of exercising their diligence; when time can never fail them in imploying their industry about what is intelligible and usefull: for all those studies are vain, superfluous, nay ridiculous; that relate to matters in themselves incomprehensible, or of no manner of concern to human life. Not plainly to say and profess all you think, or to do it by circumlocution and figures, is one thing: but tis quite another thing, to speak positively against your own judgment, or against the TRUTH in any figure of speech whatever. For all this, I am oblig'd as a historian (since *the History of the Exoteric and Esoteric Philosophy* is my present subject) to relate, that there have been of old, as well as at this time, several great men; who declar'd it their opinion, that FRAUD and SUPERSTITION were necessary means, to keep the common people in good order. Among such STRABO, a man himself not in the least superstitious, justly claims the foremost place. In the first book of his invaluable *Geography*, he expresses his judgment in the following words. *These* [speaking of artizans and the rest of the mob] *are turn'd* from their vices, when either by words, or certain frightful representations, they learn that punishments, and terrors, and comminations, procede from the Gods, or that they believe such things have been inflicted on any Persons: for tis impossible to govern the bulk of women, and of the promiscuous vulgar, by Philosophical discourses, or to lead them into religion, piety, or fidelity; but to this purpose SUPERSTITION is found to be necessary, which

Edit.

Amst.

pag. 36.

can never subsist without fictions and miracles. Wherefore JUPITER's thunderbolts, MINERVA's shield, NEPTUNE's trident, the torches and serpents of the FURIES; and those spears which are reckon'd the arms of the Gods, ARE ALL FABLES, as well as the WHOLE ANTIENT THEOLOGY: for these things were receiv'd by LEGISLATORS, as so many bullbeggars, whereby to keep in order the silly part of mankind. Nor is STRABO, as I hinted before, single in this opinion concerning the use of Fables. HOMER, which DIONYSIUS Halicarnassens tells us in his *Life*, uses a paradoxical and fabulous narration of things; that he may fill his readers with diligence and admiration, and render his auditors amaz'd. That all his Gods are pure natural causes, qualities, incidents, and events, are prov'd in this very *Life*: but more

Edit.
Amst.
pag. 285.

Ἡρακλεί-
του, ουχι-
του Σκο-
τεινους, περὶ
τοὺς κατὰ
Ὀμήρου
βλασφη-
μίας, ἀντα-
λλήλων
εἰσι φύσι-
και, σοφω-
τάται, καὶ
ἀναγκαί-
οι τὰ τὰ.

particularly and expressly by HERACLITUS, whose *Allegories of HOMER* deserve to be carefully perus'd. I shall neither obstinately deny, that the horror of Superstition, instill'd into the minds of men, never produc'd any good; nor shall I easily grant, that it ever had so desirable an effect: seeing that, the circumstances of all things duely consider'd, it must necessarily happen, that Superstition shou'd occasion more evil than good in the world. But granting that Superstition had at any time prov'd beneficial to the public, yet at other times without number, and in things of incomparably greater importance, it will be found detrimental, destructive, and utterly pernicious; nor advantageous to any, excepting PRIESTS or PRINCES, who dextrously turn it to their own interest, tho even these are not always able to direct it at their pleasure. It does not onely every where disturb private society and concord, and sometimes bring its sacred and soverain managers to the last extremities; but

but too often disorders, or quite overturns; most flourishing Governments, which the Histories of all ages and nations make evident by infinite examples. As for the particular persons blasted with this contagious air, it never leaves 'em a moment's tranquillity, waking or dreaming, in occurrences of life, or at the point of death.



VIII.

TO pass over many passages out of the most noted Apologists for Fables, such as those I have already nam'd, together with PROCLUS, PORPHYRY, JAMBLICHUS, MACROBIUS (not to speak of ORPHEUS, EMPEDOCLES, PARMENIDES, and such other of the Antients, who wrote allegorically) TIMEUS Locrus, that excellent disciple of PYTHAGORAS, teaches the same doctrine with STRABO: for he thinks Superstition to be no less necessary than the latter, for the restraint and government of the people. Tho the passage declaring this be a little of the longest, yet I shall wholly insert it here out of his golden treatise concerning the *Soul of the world*; especially, because it is from thence most manifest, that neither PYTHAGORAS nor the Pythagoreans believ'd the *Transanimation*, or *Transmigration* of Souls, for holding of which they are so famous: but that by this word they did *Esoterically* understand the incessant flux or motion of all things, and the perpetual change of forms in matter, one never decaying or dying but to begin and take on another; while *Exoterically* they did, to the promiscuous

Vide HÆ-
RODOT.
lib. 2. n.
123.

Edit.
Amst. pag.
565, 566.

HOMER.

Namely
Egyptian.

miscuous croud, affectedly preach the Egyptian Revolution of Souls, for the punishment or reward of what was transacted in the Body. This last does certainly transmigrate, revolve, interchange, or however otherwise it may be commodiously express; as no less does the Soul in the sense of those, who will have it to be *Ether* acting by the mechanism of the Brain and Nerves, which are the proper organs of thinking and feeling. But let us hear our Author. *A good Understanding* (says TIMEUS) *and the antient Philosophy, after purging the mind from false opinions and imbuing it with knowledge, have deliver'd it from great ignorance, and excited it to the contemplation of divine subjects: in which things if any be so conversant, as to live content with his lot, to be mov'd at nothing incident to humanity, and adds to diligence temperance, that man is certainly happy. To whomsoever therefore the Divinity has granted this favor, he, by the TRUEST PHILOSOPHY, is led to the most consummate felicity. But if any Person will continue refractory and obstinate, he shall be sure of punishment both from the Laws, and from those Doctrines, which denounce celestial and infernal judgments, as that unhappy ghosts will meet with implacable torments, and those other things which the Ionic poet has deliver'd out of antient Tradition. For as we cure the bodies of sick persons with any sort of remedies, if they refuse the most wholesome; so we keep the minds of men in order by FALSE REASONS, if they will not be govern'd by TRUE ones. Wherefore there is a necessity of teaching those foren torments: as that there is a TRANSMIGRATION OF THE SOUL, those of Cowards passing into female bodies, assign'd 'em for a disgrace; those of Murderers into beasts of prey, for a punishment; those of Luxurious persons into the form of swine or goats; those of Inconstant*
and

and Boasting fellows, into animals flying in the air; and those of the Slothful and the Idle, of the Un-teachable and the Foolish, into the shapes of animals living in the water. Here behold a most illustrious example of the double Philosophy, or Theology, if you'd rather have it so! Here's the true key, for opening the Egyptian and Pythagorean Mysteries! Nor are we to wonder any longer, that the same men do not always seem to say the same things on the same subjects, which problem can onely be solv'd by the distinction of the External and Internal Doctrine. An application to the Caldean Resurrection is very easy.



IX.



THAT I may now return in particular to Fables, *be persuaded of this* (says De nat. PHURNUTUS, the Philosophizing Deor. cap. ult. Divine, to his son) *that the Antients were no contemptible persons, but capable to understand the nature of the Universe; and peculiarly happy in philosophically explaining it by symbols and figures.* This I can easily grant, and that the knowledge of the nature of things, is much better convey'd by allegories than fables: for allegories do onely cover the Truth, while fables confound and quite overwhelm it. Nothing De Diis et Mundo. cap. 3. is better known. But Fables, urges SALLUSTIUS, declare to all men the existence of the Gods: yet who and of what kind they are, they manifest to those alone that are capable. I would gladly have it so: but who are they that are capable? or that, in such cimmerian darkness, can onely grope out the Truth? who can accurately distinguish,

whether the point in question be a real matter of fact, or a fable invented at pleasure? when we see the learned and unlearned, whole communities and nations, divided on this subject. What is a History to CAIUS, is a fable to PUBLIUS. Where's the contemporary witness? or who else is to be trusted? what end or limitation will there be of Fables, if once you allow the use of them? how many objects of reverence and false worship, are owing to Fables misunderstood? how many Gods and Goddeses? whose rites and festivals beget idleness and debauchery, drunkenness and sloth, which are the fruitful sources of all vice (while the Priests of those imaginary powers are gainers by the public loss) which can neither be said nor imagin'd of figures and symbols. PLATO was so sensible of this, that, in the second book of his *Republic*, he forbid all those Fables concerning the contentions and wars of the Gods, their rapes, adulteries, slaughters, lies, thefts, distresses; with such other crimes and calamities, as begot wrong notions of the Gods, or that perverted natural morals by their examples: for men will never think that to be a vice or imperfection in themselves, which is a virtue or perfection in the Divinity. Wherefore the same PLATO banish'd HOMER, yet with distinguishing marks of honor; tho he well knew, that all his Fables veil'd natural matters: but to the Vulgar they seem'd so many real persons and stories that had certainly happen'd; as the reverence of objects, excited in the learned by images, terminates among the unlearned in the images themselves. For my part I do entirely agree with PLATO in the said second book, that *certain things*, as those above-mention'd, ought not to be publicly receiv'd, whether fabulously deliver'd or otherwise: for young People are

are not able to distinguish if such be Fables or not ; and the opinions that are imbib'd in that tender age, can scarce ever be rectify'd, or they are eradicated with the greatest difficulty. This is prov'd undeniable by daily experience. O but, says DIONYSIUS Edit. Amst. pag. 323. Halicarnassens in the Life of HOMER, it ought not to appear strange, if by enigmas and certain fabulous discourses, he delivers his conceptions ; for this is occasion'd partly by poetry, and partly by the custom of the Antients : that the lovers of learning, being delightfully attracted by a certain elegance, might the more easily both seek after truth, and discover it ; and that the unlearned might not despise those things, which they cannot understand. For there is a time, when what is figuratively said, becomes pleasant ; and what is clearly explain'd, contemptible. This I allow to be a sufficient apology as to every thing, except RELIGION ; wherein I think all Fables to be intolerable, and that no Allegories ought to be admitted, but onely in expressing the DIVINE NATURE and ATTRIBUTES. To say that Fables will quicken our diligence, is the same plea with that for Mysteries ; as if time lay heavily on our hands, and that we had no other occupation but Criticism. Besides that if the one or the other be explicable, why not contemptible after they become known, according to the reasoning of DIONYSIUS and others ? or if both of 'em be incomprehensible and unathomable, our diligence is in vain, and we are exercis'd about nothing ; or, which is the same thing, to no purpose.



X.



N conceiving, explaining, and declaring the DIVINE NATURE and ATTRIBUTES, I readily own that Symbols and Metaphors are not onely apt and useful, but the last of 'em even absolutely necessary. Nor, in truth, can any ideas of them be otherwise imparted to the illiterate, of which this is not the place to render a reason. But, as farr as the matter concerns our subject of *the Exoteric and Esoteric Doctrine*, the most antient Philosophers, being no less conscious of the said difficulty relating to vulgar conceptions, than justly cautious against the detraction, malignity, violence, and rage of the superstitious, were not so sollicitous to conceal any thing, as their real judgment concerning the DIVINE NATURE: for they observ'd that few kept a sedate temper in discoursing on this point, either when they were not able to maintain their own opinions, nor to confute those of others. For this disposition we have accounted before in the Priests, who stamp the same impression on the minds of the People. What Reason cannot support, Force must: and that shall not be permitted to be told, which shows the Multitude to be ridiculous, or their Guides impostors. This put the Philosophers every where on their guard. SIMONIDES, as we are inform'd by TULLY, being ask'd by the tyrant HIERO, what GOD was, or of what nature? requested the space of one day to think on the subject. When the day after, the same demand was reiterated, he begg'd for two days.

But

But when he had frequently doubl'd the number of days, and HIERO admiring ask'd why he did so? because, said he, the longer I consider upon it, the more obscure this thing appears. Not that he had nothing to answer: but that it was dangerous to tell the truth, or to do so without ambiguity and circumlocution, as by the examples of diverse Philosophers might be easily prov'd. THALES the Milesian, when CRESUS demanded of him, what he thought of the GODS? after obtaining some days for deliberation, answer'd, Nothing: provided that TERTULLIAN (after his wonted manner) has not confounded HIERO and CRESUS, SIMONIDES and THALES. When EUCLID of Megara was ask'd by some body, of what nature were the GODS, and in what things they chiefly delighted? As to all other things, he answer'd that he was ignorant: but one thing he knew for certain, that they hated curious persons; for EUCLID was well aware, that a great questioner is a great babler. STILPO being likewise ask'd by CRATO, whether the GODS took pleasure in prayers and prostrations? You fool (said he) do not consult me about such things in the street, but at home. He makes use almost of the same expressions here, in which BION the Borysthenite answer'd to one, who ask'd him if there were any Gods?

TERTULLIAN. ad Nationes, lib. 1. cap. 2.

JOAN. STOB. Sermon. 46. Edit. Francofurt. pag. 164.

DIOG. LAERT. lib. 2. sect. 117.

Id. lib. 4. sect. 46.

Old man, have you the croud farr off remov'd?

These Philosophers cou'd have all made proper answers, but they were unwilling to displease by declaring the truth; lest they shou'd bring the Vulgar on their backs, whose inconsiderateness has in all ages prov'd the greatest support of the Priests: insomuch that even in a certain Christian Church it is grown a Proverb, that the Ignorance of the Laity is the Revenue of the Clergy. Agreeable to what has been related of several Philosophers,

losophers, I have somewhere read of the famous Rabbi HILLEL, that to one inquiring of him with great curiosity, *What was the nature of GOD? if I knew it, my son* (answered he) *yet I shou'd be farr from telling you my thoughts about it.*

Letters to
SERENA,
P. 114.

To illustrate this point yet further, by what I observ'd on another occasion; the true reason why at a certain time the theory of the Starrs and Planets was so little, or at least not so generally known in Greece, was: that the common people wou'd not endure to hear those things made subject to a Philosophical examination, nor explain'd by the ordinary laws of nature, by involuntary causes, and blind faculties; which they were taught to be intelligent, eternal, and immortal GODS. And therefore when ANAXAGORAS discover'd that the moon had but a borrow'd light from the sun, and so gave the reasons of its wax and wane, such a doctrine (as *Plutarch* assures us) durst not be made public; but was secretly committed to very few, and even to them under a promise of fidelity. What examples cou'd I not produce to the same purpose!

Invita N.
CLAR.



XI.



HEREFORE, things standing on this foot, no wise man will deny but PLATO spoke divinely, when he said, that to discover the creator and parent of the Universe, was difficult: but to explain his nature to the Vulgar, impossible; which is not the less true, were this Vulgar ever so willing to understand. Consonant to PLATO spoke DEMOPHILUS the Pythagorean, saying; that

In TIMAEUS,
Edit. SER-
RAN.
vol. 3. P.
28.

In Sen-
tent.

to begin any discourse about GOD among men of prejudic'd opinions, is by no means safe: for whether truth be told to such or falsehood, 'tis equally dangerous. From this difficulty therefore, or rather diffidence and caution, sprung VARRO's threefold Theology, the Mythical, Physical, and Political; or the Fabulous, Philosophical, and Civil: wherof the first and the last sort are certain masks of Truth, or rather ingenious subterfuges from telling it: *They call that the mythical Theology* (says VARRO) *which is chiefly us'd by the Poets, the physical by the Philosophers, and the political by particular nations.* The first and the last he absolutely rejects; but approves the second, *which men's ears can more easily indure within the walls of a School, than abroad in the open Market-place:* because, as he there says, *natural Theology related to the UNIVERSE, than which those Philosophers, says AUGUSTIN very rightly, judge nothing more excellent to exist.* Among the rest this is most notoriously true of the Stoics, who reduc'd all the fabulous and popular Theology to the natural; or so explain'd all the fables of the Poets and the Vulgar, as to have been originally meant of natural causes and effects. They were too sagacious to admit the truth of such things in the literal sense, and too prudent to reject them all as nonsense: which led them of course, by the principle of self-preservation, to impose upon them a tolerable sense of their own; that they might not be deem'd wholly to deny the Religion in vogue, but to differ onely from others about the design and interpretation of it. This artifice, which I fancy has not perish'd with the Stoics, cou'd not escape the penetration of CICERO, who yet had sometimes recourse to it himself. *First ZENO (says COTTA) after him CLEAN-* De Nat.
THES, and then CHRYSIPPUS, were at great Door. lib 3.
pains to no purpose, to give a reasonable expli- cap. 24.
cation

Apud Au-
GUSTIN de
Civitate
Dei, lib. 6.
cap. 5.

Ibid.

Ibid.

tion of commentitious Fables, and to account for the etymology of the very names of every GOD: which when you do, adds he, you plainly intimate, that the matter is quite otherwise than the bulk of mankind believes; you pretending that such as are held for GODS, do rather denote the natures of particular things, than the history of divine persons. The same CICERO does often elsewhere express his aversion to Fables; as being, if not the parents, yet certainly the fosterers of Superstition. From another reason, says he, and indeed a physical one, has proceeded a great multitude of GODS: which, being introduc'd under human shape, have supply'd the Poets with Fables, but at the same time have fill'd the life of men with all sorts of Superstition. He that wou'd not be at the pains of turning over many volumes, and yet is desirous to learn the Physical explications, which the Stoic and other Philosophers gave of the Heathen Mythology, of the very names as well as of the histories of each God and Goddess; I recommend to him the small treatise written by CORNUTUS, vulgarly call'd PHURNUTUS, of the nature of the GODS, as not onely the most ingenious, but likewise in all respects the best.

Κουρνούτου
ἱστορία πε-
ρὶ τῆς τῶν
θεῶν φύ-
σεως: ὅς, *as in some*
Manu-
scripts,
Κουρνού-
του ἐπι-
δρομὴ τῶν
κατὰ τὴν
ἑλληνι-
κὴν θεολο-
γίαν παρὰ
διδόμει-
νον.



XII.



THAT I may now return to VARRO, his account of the ancient triple Theology is wholly approv'd by PLUTARCH; who even transcribes his words, tho inverting the order a little, as the following passage makes as clear as the sun. *They, who have deliver'd unto us the*

WORSHIP

WORSHIP OF THE GODS, *made use of three kinds of forms; the natural, the fabulous, and the legal: the Philosophers teach the natural; the Poets the fabulous, and the several Governments appoint their own laws; that is, by inserting into the Calenders the Heros of their own country, the Inventors of useful arts, and such as became any way Benefactors to mankind: Such as these, having been first consecrated to immortal memory in the Fasti by the Magistrates, were next advanc'd by the Populace into the same immortal nature of the Gods, whose anniversary festivals were mark'd there: and the more knowing or learned expos'd their folly, at the same time that, by their Allegories, they pretended to vindicate those Gods from content; thus no less dextrously, than prudently, concealing their own opinions. Not only before PLUTARCH, but likewise before VARRO, the Pontif SCEVOIA distinguish'd these three kinds of Gods: the first owing their being to the Poets, the second to the Philosophers, and the third to the Legislators or Magistrates. The first sort he esteem'd idle and ridiculous, nor cou'd he help judging the last to be most false, or in other words an imposture; tho nevertheless he wou'd not have it much disturb'd, much less to be totally abrogated. For he was of the same opinion, which was afterwards openly defended by MARCUS VARRO: that many things were true, which it was not only useful the People shou'd not know; but that, tho absolutely false, it was expedient the People shou'd believe otherwise. This is at present the favorite maxim, not of two or three persons onely in a country, who juggle with the public, and imagine that deceiving the people is the highest Reason of State; but tis likewise the common cant of many others, elevated indeed above the vulgar rank, but naturally timorous,*

Apud AUGUSTIN. de C. D. lib. 4. cap. 27.

Ibid. cap. 31.

or

or prostitute time-servers. We ought in the mean while most carefully to observe, that the Priests were every where the cause, why the Philosophers invented those occult ways of speaking and writing. For while the Priests industriously conceal'd their Mysteries, lest, being clearly understood, they might by the Philosophers be expos'd to the laughter of the people, as fabulous, false, and useless: the Philosophers, on the other hand, conceal'd their sentiments of the Nature of things, under the veil of divine allegories; lest being accus'd of impiety by the Priests (which often happen'd) they might be expos'd in their turn to the hatred, if not to the fury of the Vulgar. Now the Philosophers holding this cautious conduct to be lawful, and even necessary, as I said, on the account of self-preservation; I easily conceive the threefold passion of a true Philosopher at sacrifice to have been, despising the Mob, detesting the PRIEST; and delighting in his own LIBERTY.



XIII.



HAVE more than once hinted, that the *External and Internal Doctrine*, are as much now in use as ever, tho' the distinction is not so openly and professedly approv'd, as among the Antients. This puts me in mind of what I was told by a near relation to the old Lord SHAFTESBURY. The latter conferring one day with Major WILDMAN about the many sects of Religion in the world, they came to this conclusion at last; that, notwithstanding

notwithstanding those infinite divisions caus'd by the interest of the Priests and the ignorance of the People, ALL WISE MEN ARE OF THE SAME RELIGION: wherupon a Lady in the room, who seem'd to mind her needle more than their discourse, demanded with some concern what that Religion was? to whom the Lord SHAFTESBURY strait reply'd, *Madam, wise men never tell.* And indeed, considering how dangerous it is made to tell the truth, tis difficult to know when any man declares his real sentiments of things. I have often, I confess, read of desires to some, and desires to others (not tolerated by the Laws) to produce their arguments: but this was, in other words, desiring them to get themselves disgrac'd or punish'd, depriv'd or excommunicated. Nay, I have read of invitations to Heretics, Deists, and Atheists, to speak above-board; and heard it much lamented, that the books of such were formerly destroy'd, or that they are not suffer'd now to write: because Truth wou'd thereby triumph the more, and these unfortunate men be the more easily reclaim'd. Many of those who express such desires, having been very good men, wou'd be not a little sorry if the others had comply'd; when they found they had drawn them into a snare, out of which they cou'd not extricate them: and as for those whose invitations tend to decoy and trepan, they must be left to the conscience of their own base designs; as the persons deluded by them, ought to suffer unpity'd for their folly. Now if it be a desirable thing to have the Truth told without disguise, there's but one method to procure such a blessing. *Let all men freely speak what they think, without being ever branded or punish'd but for wicked practises, and leaving their speculative opinions to be confuted or approv'd by whoever pleases: then you are sure to hear the whole truth, and*
till

till then but very scantily, or obscurely, if at all. Till then, I say, *Transubstantiation* will in one country be profess'd, by such who believe it as little, as many do the *Athanasian Creed* in another country. But what do I talk of this or that country, when examples in all countries are numberless? nor will the last in our own be that of a certain Doctor, who wrote *Difficulties* Esoterically, and Exoterically preach'd a *Sermon*. In this state of things, while liberty in its full extent is more to be wish'd than expected, and that thro human weakness people will prefer their repose, fame, or preferments, before speaking of Truth; there is nevertheless one observation left us, whereby to make a probable judgement of the sincerity of others in declaring their opinions. 'Tis this. *When a man maintains what's commonly believ'd, or professes what's publicly injoin'd, it is not always a sure rule that he speaks what he thinks: but when he seriously maintains the contrary of what's by law establish'd, and openly declares for what most others oppose, then there's a strong presumption that he utters his mind.* Yet even this observation may be found to fail, unless full and impartial Liberty obtains; which I cou'd show, were this a place for it, to be very consistent with national Establishments. But to give in one person an example of liberty and reserve, of external and internal doctrines, an ample profession of speaking what he thinks, and an absolute uncertainty whether he does so or not, I shall bring SYNESIUS here on the stage. He was a man of high quality and bright parts, who, from a Heathen Philosopher of the Platonic sect, became Bishop of Ptolemais in the beginning of the fifth century. By that time Bishops were come to be ministers of state, rather than overseers of their flocks; which made the Episcopate a place of great honor and authority, but subject to

to much fatigue and envy. Nor is it to be forgot, that, the better to carry on the Christian cause, which needed no such arts, men of establish'd reputation were not onely courted to be Clergymen, but accepted upon very easy terms, as to their Christianity it self. Among these SYNESIUS is not the least remarkable. He was by nature averse to business, and by Philosophy much addicted to contemplation: yet he was consecrated a Bishop whether he wou'd or not, about the Year 410, a thing he frequently deplores. In how many of his Letters does he lament, that, being made a Bishop, he was involv'd in secular affairs? how pathetically does he set forth, what a hard thing it was, to persuade him to enter into Orders? how boldly does he own, that he wish'd for death, sooner than to change his Philosophical for an Episcopal life? how often, how earnestly, does he beg to be discharg'd from his office? with what ingenuity does he declare, that being by education a Heathen, and by profession a Philosopher; every thing went wrong with him, since he presum'd to serve at the Altar? Particularly, in a Letter to his Friend OLYMPIUS, he assures him, that if the Episcopate shou'd prove any hindrance to his Philosophy, he wou'd quit his Diocese, abjure his Orders, and remove into Greece. All this, some will say, shows his indolence or his humility; but is nothing to your subject, of *the Exoteric and Esoteric Philosophy*. These Gentlemen will change their note, when they learn that SYNESIUS was made a Bishop, tho he was not a Christian, and so must needs preach what he did not believe. This nevertheless is literally true, unless a man be deem'd a Christian, who disbelieves the immediate creation of the soul, the End of the world, and the Resurrection of the dead. In a long Letter to his brother, he

Epist. 11,
13, 57, 67,
80, 105,
&c.

Epist. 95.

Epist. 105.

H

expresses

- expresses his aversion to the Crozier on diverse accounts, being led by inclination rather to continue in the modesty of Philosophy, than to be elevated to the grandeur of Episcopacy; and fearing lest the latter shou'd spoil the former, by making him proud and arrogant. He appears most loath to quit his wife, which he protests he will not do; but wishes to have many children by her, as two or three he had. But this is not all. *Tis difficult, says he, or rather absolutely impossible, to unsettle those doctrines, which, by the means of knowledge, are rooted in the soul to a demonstration. But you know, continues he, that Philosophy is diametrically opposite to the common doctrines.* Well: what were those doctrines he cou'd not digest? *Verily, says he, I shall never be persuaded, that the Soul had no being before the body; I shall not profess, that the World, and all its parts shall perish together; the threadbare doctrine of the Resurrection I conceive to denote something sacred and secret, but am very farr from approving the prejudices of the vulgar.* They are not, you see, trivial or indifferent points at which he boggles: and since the Resurrection of the dead, was one of the articles essentially requir'd to be believ'd by those that were baptiz'd; how was it possible he cou'd be reckon'd a Christian, however he might, as things went then, be a very good Bishop? His memory fail'd PHOTIUS, when he writes it was in an Epistle to THEOPHILUS, that SYNESIUS deny'd the Resurrection, whereas it was in this to his brother: or perhaps he did it also in a Letter to that Patriarch of Alexandria, which is since lost. The same PHOTIUS plainly asserts, that, tho persisting in his denial of the Resurrection, they ordain'd SYNESIUS Bishop; not doubting but so good a man, endow'd with such uncommon vertues, wou'd sooner
- Ibid.
- Ibid.
- He Believ'd
Preexistence.
- God. 26.
- Ibid.

sooner or later believe this doctrine. This is like those matches concluded by covetous parents, between young people who do not greatly care for each other; securing a good fortune first, and not doubting but love will come after. They are however commonly mistaken in their politics. But PHOTIUS, several hundred years posterior to SYNESIUS, avers that he easily came into the belief of the Resurrection, after he was made a Bishop. The same things are also reported by EVAGRIUS. It may well be that he did so, and it may as well be that he did not: for, in the fore-cited Letter to his brother, he roundly declares, that it may sometimes be expedient to ly, in order to do good; exact philosophical truth not being necessary for the vulgar, who may receive hurt from their knowledge. *Wherefore, says he, if this method be consistent with the rights of the Episcopal dignity, I may be consecrated. I shall freely philosophize at home, and tell fables abroad; neither teaching nor unteaching, but suffering people to live in their prejudices.* He repeats this rule over and over. Notwithstanding this allow'd liberty among Philosophers, he calls God and men to witness, that, if his Episcopal charge requires otherwise, he will not falsly represent doctrines. So far, so good. This resolution likewise he more than once repeats in the strongest terms, if swearing by GOD be so. His reluctance to quit his arms, his horses, and his dearest dogs, I pass over as trifles, in respect of his other objections. But why, some may say, will you not acquiesce in his last resolution? I answer, because he teaches me to do otherwise: for in all his works, as well those he wrote after he was made Bishop as before, he inculcates, explains, and praises the distinction of the *Exoteric and Esoteric doctrine*. This, I say, he does every where: and especially where

Ibid.

Lib. 1. cap.

15.

Epist. 105.

Ibid.

Ibid.

Epist. 143. he largely and earnestly advises his friend HERCULANIUS to conceal his philosophical tenets, which he professes to do himself; and recommends to him for a directory, the Letter of LYSIS the Pythagorean to his condisciple HIPPARCHUS, which we have cited above, and which he desires him frequently to peruse. From this particular account of SYNESIUS (of whom more elsewhere) no less than from the whole tenor of this *Dissertation*, it may be easily conceiv'd; *how hard it is to come at TRUTH your self, and how dangerous a thing to publish it to others.*

F I N I S.



H Y P A T I A :

O R, T H E

H I S T O R Y

O F A

Most beautiful, most vertuous, most
learned, and every way accom-
plish'd L A D Y ;

W H O

Was torn to pieces by the C L E R G Y of Alex-
andria, to gratify the pride, emulation, and
cruelty of their A R C H B I S H O P,
commonly but undeservedly stil'd

St. C T R I L.

Magnum aliquid instat, efferum, immane, impium.

SEN. MEDEA, Act. 3. Scen. 1. lin. 16.

L O N D O N, Printed in the Y E A R 1720.



HYPATIA.

I.



AM going to give a short account, but as full as ancient Books afford us materials, of the life and death of **HYPATIA**; who will ever continue the glory of her own sex, and the disgrace of ours: for the women have no less reason to value themselves, that there existed a Lady of such rare accomplishments, without the least blemish, even as a foil to her numberless perfections; than the men to be ashamed, that any could be found among them of so brutal and savage a disposition, as, far from being struck with admiration at so much beauty, innocence, and knowledge, to stain their barbarous hands with her blood, and their impious souls with the indelible character of sacrilegious murderers. A Bishop, a Patriarch, nay a Saint, was the contriver of so horrid a deed, and his Clergy the executioners of his implacable fury. The Authors out of whom I collect my account (and I omit none that has come to my

knowledge) were either her contemporaries, or liv'd near that age. One of them was her school-fellow, another her schollar. But they who relate the most odious and flagitious circumstances, are Ecclesiastical historians; counted orthodox in their own time, as well as eminently so by most in ours. Nor ought we to forget that several of 'em were Priests. To every one of them we shall do the justice that their sincerity or prevarication deserves, tho little remains to do in this respect; all being agreed about the principal facts, and some differing onely in points of no great importance. They are such things, as, taken either way, neither serve much to alleviate a very bad cause, nor to aggravate what cannot be possibly made worse.



II.



AFTER ALEXANDER the great had founded Alexandria in Egypt, as the center of commerce in the Empire he was projecting, this city soon became a flourishing mart for Learning as well as for Merchandize. The fame of the *Alexandrian School*, and of the *Alexandrian Library*, reach'd much further than the name of ALEXANDER himself; or at least they carry'd it, whither it cou'd never have reach'd without their means. This was the most proper tribute, that cou'd in gratitude be paid to the memory of a Prince so ambitious of glory: as indeed no private persons, no more than potentates, will ever do any thing praise-worthy without the prospect of

of a long-liv'd reputation, the most effectual spur to laudable and arduous undertakings. The succession of the great men that presided in this School, may be learnt out of the works of those, who have purposely written on such subjects. My design however obliges me here to mention one of them, namely THEON, who govern'd that Academy with much applause in the latter part of the fourth century. He was particularly famous for his extensive knowledge in Astronomy, as the Catalogues made of such who excell'd in this science, abundantly show. But what has contributed to render him more illustrious to all posterity, is, that he was father to the incomparable HYPATIA; whom, according to the custom of those times, or rather prompted by the encouragement he receiv'd from her own promising genius, he educated not onely in all the qualifications belonging to her sex: but caus'd her likewise to be instructed in the most abstruse sciences, which are reputed the proper occupation of men, as requiring too much labor and application for the delicate constitution of women.

SOCRAT.
Hist. lib. 7.
cap. 15.
NICEPHOR.
Hist. lib.
14. cap. 14.
SUID. in
HYPATIA.
Alii alibi.



III.



THAT this notion is a vulgar prejudice, the vast number of Ladies, who have in every age distinguish'd themselves by their professions or performances in Learning, furnishes an answerable argument. Whole volumes have been written, containing nothing else but the lives of such women, as became eminent in all kinds of
Litera-

Literature, especially in Philosophy; which, as it is the highest perfection, so it demands the utmost effort of human nature. But leaving those heroines to the search of the curious, I shall confine my self at present to one object worthy all admiration; in doing justice to whom, I may be deem'd to write the panegyric of the whole sex. We have the unanimous consent of SYNESIUS, SOCRATES, and PHILOSTORGIUS, her contemporaries; as likewise of DAMASCIUS, NICEPHORUS *Gregoras*, NICEPHORUS *Callistus*, PHOTIUS, SUIDAS, HESYCHIUS *Illustris* and others, touching the prodigious Learning and other excellent accomplishments of HYPATIA. What is still a greater proof of the fact, no one person, or thro ignorance or thro envy, has ever as much as insinuated the contrary. SOCRATES the Ecclesiastical historian, an unsuspected witness, says, that *she arriv'd to such a pitch of Learning, as very farr to exceede all the Philosophers of her time*; to which NICEPHORUS, also an Ecclesiastical historian, adds, *those of other times*. PHILOSTORGIUS affirms, that *she was much superior to her father and master THEON, in what regards Astronomy*. And SUIDAS, who mentions two books of her writing, one *on the Astronomical Canon* of DIOPHANTUS, and another *on the Conics* of APOLLONIUS; avers, that *she not onely exceede her father in Astronomy: but further, that she understood all the other parts of Philosophy*; a thing that will be easily credited by those, who shall peruse the sequel of this story, wherein nothing is advanc'd without competent vouchers.

Hist. lib.
cap. 15.

Hist. lib.
14. cap. 14.

Lib. 8. cap.
9. Edit.

Gen.

In Τρα-
γία.



IV.



AND truly were not this matter so well attested by those writers we have just nam'd, and by others we shall presently have occasion to allege; yet no body cou'd any longer doubt of it, after being inform'd by the very same persons, that HYPATIA succeeded in the government of the PLATONIC school at Alexandria, the place of her birth and education. *In locis jam citatis.* This was another guess thing, God knows, than taking the degree of Doctor in any of the faculties; which one or two women have not long since done, for which they have been loaded with fulsom elogies, tho producing no effects suteable to the Titles they have so much ambition'd. But what greater glory for a woman, what greater honor redounding to all women; than to see a Lady teaching in that chair, where AMMONIUS and HIEROCLES (to name no more, for tis a mistake in SOCRATES or his transcriber to make PLOTINUS one of them) where so many Professors, I say, utter'd the oracles of Learning, rather as divine Intelligences than mortal men? What infinite merit must she have possess'd, who cou'd be preferr'd to that conspicuous station, at a time when men of immense Learning abounded both at Alexandria, and in many other parts of the Roman Empire? Wherefore, the novelty of the thing consider'd, and HYPATIA's worth being universally acknowledg'd, tis no wonder that she soon had a crouded auditory. *She explain'd to her bearers,* says SOCRATES,

Ubi supra. CRATES, *the several Sciences, that go under the general name of Philosophy; for which reason, continues he, there was a confluence to her from all parts, of those who made Philosophy their delight or study.* To the same purpose speak others: and SUIDAS adds, that *she explain'd all the Philosophers, that is, all the several sects with the particular tenets of their founders; which shows an inexpressible elevation and capacity, each of these separately being thought a sufficient province, to exercise the diligence of any one man, however consummate in Letters.*

In 'Υπα-
τια.



V.



SUIDAS in
-loco citato.

NOW, I cannot but here represent to my self with pleasure, let who will censure me for it, the flower of all the youth in Europe, Asia, and Africa, sitting at the feet of a most beautiful Lady (for such we are assur'd HYPATIA was) all greedily swallowing Instruction from her mouth, and many of 'em Love from her eyes. How she serv'd one of this last sort, shall be told in its due place. It was doubtless a thing impossible, not to improve under such a teacher; as one must be equally stupid and insensible, that cou'd not be powerfully affected by a charming mind in a charming body. I'm sure this reflection is very agreeable to that Philosophy she peculiarly profess'd: and accordingly the Alexandrian School never flourish'd more. Her disciples enter'd into a strict tye of intimacy with one another, stiling themselves *Companions*; or, as in our Colleges,

'Εταρει.

Colleges *Fellows*; which was likewise the custom at Athens, and in other famous seminaries of Learning. This commonly begot effects of benevolence thro' the whole course of their lives, and sometimes acts of friendship very extraordinary. HYPATIA was by way of excellence nam'd *The PHILOSOPHER*, altogether as much on account of her profound knowlege, as for her public profession of teaching. Nor was any Professor ever more admir'd by the world, or more dear to his own Scholars. Hers were as remarkable as numerous.

Socii *vel*
potius Soda-
les.

SYNES.
passim, &
DAMASC.
apud PHOT.



VI.

ONE of these, who has preserv'd to us the names of several others, is the celebrated SYNESIUS. He was a native of Cyrene in Africa, on the borders of Egypt, a very antient Grec Colony, the birth-place of ARISTIPPUS and CARNEADES, which SYNESIUS forgets not to mention in his writings. He travell'd for improvement to his neighboring country of Egypt, the undoubted mother of the sciences, where he happily succeeded in his studies at Alexandria under HYPATIA. This Personage alone may suffice for a specimen, of the extraordinary Spirits that she form'd. If we may rely on the judgement of no less a man than NICEPHORUS Gregoras, Patriarch of Constantinople (who wrote elaborate annotations on his treatise of *Dreams*, a piece fraught with uncommon Learning) he says, *there was nothing he did not know, no Science wherein he did not excel, no Mystery in which he was not initiated or skill'd,*

Adversus
ANDRONI-
CUM.

Σχολια.

In Intro-
duct. ad
Schol.

skill'd,

- skill'd, with a great deal more to this purpose. And it must be own'd, that to all the vivacity natural to his country, there was join'd the most profound knowlege and solid judgement. His works are every one highly commended: but his*
- In Συναγωγή Epistles are admirable, as SUIDAS very truly remarks; and in the opinion of PHOTIUS as well as*
- In Codice 26. of EVAGRIUS, they are elegant, agreeable, sententious, and learned. He was a man of noble birth,*
- Hist. lib. 1. esp. 15. which added no less weight to his Learning than this reflected lustre on his Quality; as both together procur'd him credit with his superiors, authority over his inferiors, and admiration from his equals. He went upon an Embassy, which*
- Vid. libb. de Insomniis, de Regno, alijsq. lasted three years, to the Emperor ARCADIUS at Constantinople, on the behalf of his country; which was miserably harra's'd by the auxiliary Goths and other Barbarians, but which received*
- In lib. de Insomn. considerable relief from his sollicitations. It was then that with greater boldness than any of the Grecians (as he tells us himself) he pronounc'd before the Emperor, that extremely fine Oration*
- Περὶ Βασίλειας. concerning GOVERNMENT; which, in a country, so justly fond of Liberty as ours, I wonder has never been translated. This defect I have supply'd, and will impart it to the public on a proper occasion. As for SYNESIUS's being consecrated Bishop of Ptolemais notwithstanding his protestation, that he disbeliev'd some of the most essential Articles of the Christian Religion, we spoke enough to that point at the latter end of*
- Scet. ult. Clidophorus: onely we shall observe in this place, how PETAUVIUS, the Editor of his works, affirms that, in some of the books written after his profession of Christianity, he appears as very a Heathen as ever. But this being no prejudice to his parts, however it may affect his salvation, is none of our present business to examine; much less to adopt*

adopt the pitiful excuses, or rather prevarications, invented by some learned men to defend him from this imputation. The principal is BAROMIUS.



VII.



THE thing which our design obliges us not to pass over slightly is, the grateful testimony he every where bears to the Learning and Virtue of HYPATIA, whom he never mentions without the profoundest respect, and sometimes in terms of affection coming little short of adoration. In a Letter to his brother EUOPTIUS, *Salute* (says he) *Epist. 4.*
the most honor'd and the most belov'd of God, the PHILOSOPHER; and that happy Sodality or fellowship, which enjoys the blessing of her divine Voice. In another to his said brother he mentions one EGYPTUS, *who suck'd in the seeds of wisdom from* *Epist. 135.*
HYPATIA. And thus he expresses himself writing to OLYMPIUS: *I suppose these Letters will* *Epist. 132.*
be deliver'd by PETER, which he'll receive from that sacred hand. I send them from Pentapolis to our common Instructress, and she'll intrust them with whom she thinks fit, which I'm sure will be to one that's well known to her. In a Letter address'd to *Epist. 15.*
her self, he desires her to direct a *Hydroscope* to be made and bought for him, which he there describes. PETAVIUS thinks it was a sort of Level, and others an Hour-measure. That famous silver *Astrolabe* which he presented to PEONIUS, *Ad Pacon.*
a man equally excelling in Philosophy and Arms, he owns to have been perfected by the directions of HYPATIA. In a long Epistle he acquaints *Epist. 154.*
her

her with the reasons of his writing two books, which he thereby sends her. The one was his mystical Treatise of *Dreams*, and the other his *DION*. This last is a most ingenious Apology for Learning against two sorts of men, who by very opposite lines tended to the same center of Ignorance. The one, that under pretence of being reserv'd towards unworthy hearers, conceal'd their want of real knowlege, did accuse him of being too communicative, and of prostituting Philosophy. The others wou'd have him to be eternally prating like themselves, not that they study'd more than others, nor yet so much, to be furnish'd with matter for discourse: but that talking by rote out of certain *Systems*, the truth of which they took for granted, and which no body must contradict, they cou'd tire the patience of their hearers, without making these or themselves a whit the wiser. Both sorts charg'd him with studying elegance and oratory in his compositions: for the Divines of that time were substituting apace to Philosophy and other Learning, Legends and Enthusiasm, Fables and Fancies, which they sanctify'd by the name of *Divine Contemplation*. Metaphysical distinctions about the *Trinity*, and extravagant notions about the essence of GOD (whose majesty they blasphem'd by their profane definitions) was all the study then in vogue, to the irreparable damage of polite and useful Letters.



VIII.



OF his DION therefore he begs HYPATIA's judgement, resolving not to publish it without her approbation. He informs her moreover, that she's the first among the Greeks, or rather the Heathens, to whom he communicates his *Treatise of Dreams*: and that he might complete, he says, the sacred number *Three*, he adds to these two his account of the *Astrolabe* presented to PEO- NIUS. It will not be a digression altogether foreign to the subject (as we shall see hereafter) if we insert here part of the fine description, which he has given of the second sort of those that censur'd him; who being full of ignorance, says he, yet arm'd with confidence, are readier than all other men to discourse concerning GOD: and if you happen to light upon them, you'll strait hear some of their unreasonable reasonings, which they will needs obtrude on such as are desirous of no such matter; because, I suppose, it is for their interest so to do. For on the score of such things they are made Preachers in towns, which is the same thing as to enjoy AMALTHEA's horn or plenty of all things, which these think themselves oblig'd to use. I fancy by this time you perceive, what this forward generation of men may be; that blame my generous purpose. They invite me to come into their Discipline, promising that in a short time I shall appear most confident in things relating to GOD, and ever after be capable to dispute incessantly both night and day. I believe this race of men is not yet extinct: but another time

Ibid.

Ibid.

they may hear of a certain *Speech* address'd to them by the same truth-telling SYNESIUS.



IX.



IN his promotion, or, as he accounted it himself, his banishment to the Bishoprick of Ptolemais, he was forc'd to quit the fellowship of his Condisciples, and the presence of his dear HYPATIA. As an augmentation of his affliction he soon lost his wife, with his children in a little time after, whom he very tenderly lov'd, and whose death he did not bear with the same fortitude, that is reported of some other Philosophers. On this occasion, and a fancy'd neglect of his friends, he wrote the following Letter to HYPATIA the Philosopher, that I may use the very words of the inscription. *I salute you, happy Lady, and by your means the most happy Companions. I have of a long time had an intention to chide, by reason I have receiv'd no Letters from any of you. But now I perceive that I am neglected by all, not that I have in any thing fail'd of my duty; but that I am in many respects unfortunate, and indeed as unfortunate as any one can be. Nevertheless, cou'd I be thought worthy of receiving your Letters, and of being inform'd how you lead your lives (being confident however it is after the best manner that may be, and that you fail not to exercise a sprightly genius) I shou'd onely think my self unhappy by halves, while I enjoy'd any happiness on your account. But now I must reckon this also, as one of the misfortunes wherein I am involv'd. For I am not onely depriv'd of my children, but likewise of my friends, and of every*

everybody's kindness: nay, what's more than all, of your most divine Soul, which onely thing I flatter'd my self wou'd continue stedfast to me, in spite of the injuries of fortune and the storms of fate. One wou'd think that he cou'd not better expresse in so few lines, the good opinion he had of his Teacher: yet he's still more pathetical in other Letters, which, because serving to give us the fuller view of HYPATIA's character, I shall produce as essential to my subject.



X.



CONTINUING therefore to grieve for the death of his children, he fell into an ill state of health, which he signifies to his Mistress (whom in all his Letters he stiles *the Philosopher*) and to the belov'd Companions of his studies, in these words. Being confin'd to my bed I have dictated this Letter, which may you receive in good health, my mother, my sister, and my instructress! in all which respects you have been my benefactress, or if there be any other, either name or thing, that is more honorable. The weakness of my body procedes from the anguish of my soul. The remembrance of my deas'd children consumes me by little and little. SYNESIUS ought onely to have liv'd so long, as the evils of life were unknown to him. Afterwards it has happen'd to him as to a stream that is stopt: it rushes over its dam on a sudden, and forces all the pleasure of life before it. Let me cease to live, or to remember the burial of my children. May you enjoy health your self, and salute in my name the hap-

Epiſt. 16.

py Companions, beginning with father THEOTECNUS and brother ATHANASIUS, and so proceeding to the rest. Or if any other be since associated to them, who is agreeable to you (and to whom, for this very reason of pleasing you, I ought to stand oblig'd) salute him also from me, as one of my dearest friends. If what relates to me be of any concern to you, tis well done: tho, even then, I shall be insensible to this favor. What can be more affectionate, what can be more tender, what can be more benevolent or candid? The soul speaks here in every line. A while after the calamities of warr being added to all his other sorrows, he writes her this Letter beginning with a couple of lines out of HOMER, changing onely a word or two.

Epist. 124.

*Tho 'mong the dead profound oblivion reigns,
E'en there my dear HYPATIA I'll remember!*

Sect. ult.

I, who am surrounded with the miseries of my country, and who am thoroly weary of it, since I daily see hostile arms, and men slaughter'd like beasts, that I breath air infected with the corruption of dead bodies, and that I hourly expect the like fate my self: for who can hope well, where the very face of the sky is most lamentable, being darken'd by the shadow of carnivorous birds? Yet, notwithstanding all this, I retain an affection for the country: nay, how can I do otherwise? being a Libyan by nation, and born in this place, where I behold no ignoble sepulchers of my ancestors. For your sake alone I fancy I can set light by my country, and, as soon as leisure offers, will banish my self out of it. In Clidophorus I shew'd the like resolutions out of some of his Letters to others: but whether he ever executed them, or how long he liv'd, or where or in what manner he dy'd, is not recorded by any author that I remember.



XI.

ALL this, some will say, we readily grant, that HYPATIA was a Lady of most eminent Learning, and that SYNESIUS, with probably not a few of her other disciples, esteem'd her to be a miracle of virtue and prudence: but what did the rest of the world think of her conduct, what marks of approbation or favor did she receive from the public? To this inquiry, which is very natural in this place, we answer; that never woman was more caress'd by the public, and yet that never woman had a more unspotted character. She was held an Oracle for her wisdom, which made her be consulted by the Magistrates in all important cases; and this frequently drew her among the greatest concourse of men, without the least censure of her manners. The proof of so rare a felicity we chuse to give in the words of the historian SOCRATES. *By reason of the confidence and authority (says he) which she had acquired'd by her Learning, she sometimes came to the Judges with singular modesty; nor was she any thing abash'd, to appear thus among a croud of men: for all persons, on the score of her extraordinary discretion, did at the same time both reverence and admire her.* The same things are confirm'd by NICE-PHORUS CALLISTUS, SUIDAS, HESYCHIUS *Illustris*, and indeed by whom not? So far was she from that blameable timidity, which is contracted from a wrong education; or from that conscious backwardness, which is inspir'd by guilt.

Hist. lib. 7. cap. 15.
Vide duos priores in locis antea citatis, tertium vero in 'Τηα-Τηα.

I 3

That

Apud
PHOT. in
cod. 242.
In Γρα-
μα.

Hist. lib. 8.
cap. 5.

That the Governors and Magistrates of Alexandria regularly visited her, that all the city (as DAMASCIUS and SUIDAS relate) paid court to her, is a distinction with which no woman was ever honor'd before. And to say all in a word, when NICEPHORUS *Gregoras*, above quoted, intended to pass the highest compliment on the Princess EUDOCIA, he thought he cou'd not better hit, than by calling her *another HYPATIA*.



XII.



Epist. 81.

IT was during this prosperous gale of public favor, that HYPATIA's devoted friend SYNESIUS sent her this commendatory Letter on the behalf of two young gentlemen, that had a claim depending at Alexandria. *Altho fortune cannot take every thing from me, yet she has a mind to strip me of all she can; she that*

Of many sons, and good, has me bereft.

But to be ambitious of doing the best things, and to assist the unjustly oppress'd, is what she shall never take from me: for farr be it from me, that she shou'd ever be able to conquer my mind. Therefore I hate injustice, since this I may do still: and am also desirous to repress it, but that is one of the things taken out of my power, and which I lost before my children.

Once the Milesians valiant were.

Time

Time also was, when I cou'd be useful to my friends, and when you were wont to call me Others good; as turning to the profit of other men my interest with persons in great authority, whom I made to serve me as so many hands. Now I am left destitute of all, unless you have any power: for you, together with virtue, I reckon a good of which none will be able to rob me. But you have and will always have power, by reason of the excellent use you make of your credit. Wherefore let NICEUS and PHILOLAUS, virtuous youths and relations, return masters of their own, thro the care of all who honour you, whether private men or magistrates. Thus, as a necessary part of her history, I have inserted at length, all the Letters written to HYPATIA by SYNESIUS, except the 15th Sect. V. wherof I have given the substance; and the 33d in the Collection of his Letters, which is too short to contain any instruction: as likewise the 154th, which, being too long, I have abridg'd Sect. VIII. above.



XIII.



T wou'd be as great a prodigy in nature as HYPATIA was her self, if a Lady of such beauty, modesty, wisdom, and virtue, were not by many eagerly sought in marriage: and, in effect, we find that she was actually marry'd to the Philosopher ISIDORUS, tho SUIDAS In 'Tra-
Tid. says she dy'd a maid; which is not so irreconcilable a thing, as people may be apt to imagine on first thoughts, but, as we shall show, very likely

to be true. This ISIDORUS succeeded MARINUS in the school, and his *Life* has been written by DAMASCIUS, one of THEON'S Scholars, who therefore had all imaginable opportunities to know whatever regarded HYPATIA and ISIDORUS. His *Life* was abridg'd by PHOTIUS, but we have it not so perfect as he left it: for besides the extreme confusion and incorrectness which appears thro' the whole, the learned VALESIUS gave the world expectations, that he wou'd one time or other publish it twice larger than that we read now in PHOTIUS. However, in such as it still is, DAMASCIUS bestows such Elogies on ISIDORUS, as put him almost above humanity: yet, no way concerning HYPATIA, I pass them over in silence: I frankly confess, that I more than suspect many of the things he reports; as knowing that DAMASCIUS was a great visionary, and, like PHILOSTRATUS with respect to APOLLONIUS *Tyaneus*, design'd to oppose ISIDORUS to those Christian *Saints*, who were celebrated for their miraculous and supernatural attainments. But this ought not to affect his credit in matters of an ordinary nature, and therefore I do not in the least hesitate to believe him, when he positively affirms that HYPATIA was wife to ISIDORUS.

In cod. 242.

In Not. ad.
SoCRAT.
lib. 7. cap.
15.

Apud
PHOT. ubi
supra.



XIV.



SUIDAS likewise makes her the wife of the same ISIDORUS, tho he be the very man who tells us she dy'd a Virgin. That matter, considering the great uncertainty in which we are left by the meditated destruction or casual decay of authentic writers, I conceive to stand thus. DAMASCIUS says that ISIDORUS had another wife, whose name was DOMNA, by which he had a Son call'd PROCLUS. She dy'd the fifth day after her delivery, and, according to his Pannegyrist, *she rid the Philosopher of an evil beast and a bitter wedlock.* Now supposing this to happen some time before the tragical end of HYPATIA, and that the latter was betroth'd to ISIDORUS, it might very well be said that she was his wife, and yet that she dy'd a maid. The Author of an *Epigram*, that was made upon her, seems to have been of the same opinion.

In 'Tτα
τα.
 Apud
 PHOT. ubi
 supra.

In Antho-
 log. lib. 1.
 pag. 108.
 Edit.
 STEPH.

*The VIRGIN's starry Sign whene'er I see,
 Adoring, on thy words I think and thee:
 For all thy virtuous works celestial are,
 As are thy learned words beyond compare,
 Divine HYPATIA, who dost farr and near
 Virtue's and Learning's spotless starr appear.*

The allusion, I say, to the Constellation VIRGO, and the epithet of *Spotless*, wou'd induce me to believe that the writer reckon'd her a Virgin as well as SUIDAS: but I shall conclude nothing from

ΑΧΡΑΤΟΣ
 ἀσπov.

Apud
PHOT. ubi
supra.

from so slender a conjecture, besides that her character is no way concern'd in this particular, tho as a historian I wou'd omit nothing that might illustrate my subject. For this reason it is, that I cannot pass over uncensur'd a reflection of DAMASCIUS, who gravely says, that ISIDORUS was far superior to HYPATIA; not onely as a man to a woman; but as a Philosopher to a Geometrician. Good and egregious reasoning! as if her skill in Geometry or Astronomy, had been any hindrance to her improvement in every part of Philosophy, wherein she's by so many confest to surpass those of her own, if not of former time; or as if we in England, for example, did reckon King JAMES superior to Queen ELIZABETH; because the first, forsooth, was a man, and the last a woman. But I observ'd before that DAMASCIUS was a sad visionary.



XV.



Lady of such uncommon merit and accomplishments as HYPATIA, daily surrounded with a circle of young Gentlemen; many of 'em distinguish'd by their fortune or quality; besides her frequently appearing in public assemblies, and receiving visits from persons of the first rank, cou'd not possibly fail being sometimes importun'd with addresses of gallantry. Such attempts the severest virtue cannot avoid, tho it can deny encouragement, and make success to be despair'd. How many trials of this kind HYPATIA may have overcome, we are left to imagine rather than

to

to know, thro the silence of Historians; who either thought it below their gravity to record such things, or that the works of those who descended to particulars are lost. One instance however has escap'd the common wrack of good books: nor can I doubt but several others might be contain'd in the *Life of ISIDORUS*, out of which there is reason to believe, that *SUIDAS* pick'd what I am going to relate. He acquaints us therefore, that one of her own Schollars made warm love to her, whom she endeavor'd to cure of his passion by the precepts of Philosophy: and that some reported she actually reclaim'd him by Music, which he judiciously explodes; Music having ever been deem'd rather an incentive to Love, than an antidote against it. But he says with much greater probability, that the spark vehemently soliciting her (not to be sure without pleading the irresistible power of her beauty) at a time when she happen'd to be under an indisposition ordinary to her sex: she took a handkerchief, of which she had been making some use on that occasion, and throwing it in his face, said; *This is what you love, young fool, and not any thing that's beautiful.* For the PLATONIC Philosophers held goodness, wisdom, virtue, and such other things, as by reason of their intrinsic worth are desirable for their own sakes, to be the onely real *Beauties*; of whose divine symmetry, charms, and perfection, the most superlative that appear in *Bodies* are but faint resemblances. This is the right notion of PLATONIC LOVE. Wherefore HYPATIA's procedure might very well put a student of Philosophy at Alexandria to the blush, and quite cure him too (which *SUIDAS* assures us was the effect) but wou'd never rebute a Beau in St. JAMES's park, nor perhaps some Bachelors of Divinity at our modern Universities.

XVI. AT

In 'TTE-
TTEUbi supra.



XVI.



THE time that HYPATIA thus reign'd the brightest ornament of Alexandria, ORESTES was Governor of the same place for the Emperor THEODOSIUS, and CYRIL Bi-

shop or Patriarch. As ORESTES was a person educated futeable to his rank, he cou'd not but take notice of those perfections in HYPATIA, which all the world admir'd besides; and, as he was a wise Governor, he wou'd not be so far from wanting to his charge, as not to ask her advice in matters difficult or dangerous, when every body else consulted her as an oracle. This created of course an intimacy between them that was highly displeasing to CYRIL, who mortally hated ORESTES. But because this emulation prov'd fatal to HYPATIA, I shall take the subject

SOCRAT.
Hist. l. 7.
cap. 7.
NICEPH.
Hist. lib.
14. cap. 14.

a little higher. 'Tis observ'd by SOCRATES, NICEPHORUS, and others, that CYRIL (who was elevated to the see by sedition and force against one TIMOTHY an Archdeacon of no extraordinary reputation) intermedl'd more in temporal or civil matters, than his predecessors took upon them to do, and that the example was greedily follow'd by his successors; *who not keeping within the bounds of their priestly ordination, took upon them an arbitrary kind of principality, and the absolute disposal of affairs.* The first act of authority that CYRIL exercis'd was to shut up the Churches of the Novatians, from which step he proceeded to seize upon their sacred vessels and

SOCRAT.
Hist. lib. 7.
cap. 13.

Church-

Church-ornaments, till at length he robb'd their Bishop THEOPEMPTUS of all he had. Yet these Novatians profess the same Doctrine to a tittle that he did, and differ'd onely in some points of Discipline. But they must be mere novices in *Ecclesiastical History*, who know not that *Discipline* has been ever reckon'd of greater consequence than *Doctrine*; if one may judge by the commotions that have happen'd in Churches, or the duration of their Schisms. The reason is obvious. For if a man believes otherwise than his Teacher, and yet prudentially conforms to the public ritual and Discipline, or perhaps eagerly stickles for it, as thinking it the most conducing to order, be his speculations what you will, still he preserves the Unity of the Church; or, in other words, he obeys his spiritual Governors, and teaches others by his example to do the like: whereas if his belief he ever so right, or at least ever so agreeable to that prescrib'd in the society wherof he's a member; yet if he boggles at any part of the public ritual and Discipline, he then promotes a spiritual rebellion, and rends the Unity of the Church, that is, he weakens the Government of the Clergy. These were the maxims of those times, and hence it sprung, that Schism is counted so damnable a sin in their writings, a sin more dreadful than any other, that it may the better serve for a scare-crow.



XVII.

Ubi supra.



Ibid.

THE main reason why CYRIL cou'd not bear the Governor, as we are told by SOCRATES, was, that ORESTES *hated the Principality of the Bishops* : as well because they transferr'd to themselves much of the power belonging to those appointed Governors by the Emperor ; as, in particular, because CYRIL wou'd needs be prying into his actions. Their Enmity became sufficiently known to the public, by a sedition rais'd against ORESTES, occasion'd by one HIERAX a pitiful schoolmaster, but a profest admirer of the Bishop, and a most diligent attendant at his sermons, where he was sure to clap and reclang, according to the rare custom of those times. The Jews spying him in the Theatre, while the Governor was there on some public business, cry'd out, that he came purposely thither to cause mischief : and the uproar, wherof the particulars may be read in the just quoted SOCRATES, terminated in this, that CYRIL expell'd all the Jews out of the City, where they had liv'd in great opulence from the time of ALEXANDER the great, to the no small benefit of the place. Were I not accusom'd to read monstrous lyes of this unfortunate nation, especially that thread-bare fiction of crucifying a Child (objected to them here as well as a thousand times afterwards) I shou'd think 'em very rightly serv'd. But even in that case, who can justify CYRIL's licensing the multitude to seize on their goods ? And yet why do I ask such a question ?
when

when this has ever been the true motive of the barbarities to which they have been expos'd, tho' zeal for Religion has been as shamelessly as wickedly pretended. ORESTES, as became a good Governor, *being grievously concern'd at what had happen'd* (to speak in the words of the Historian) *and sadly afflicted, that so great a city shou'd be so suddenly emty'd of such a multitude of inhabitants,* gave the Emperor an account of the whole matter. We might be certain, were we not expressly told it, that CYRIL was not behind hand on his part. Yet conscious of his guilt, as every reader may collect, he wou'd fain make up with ORESTES, and conjur'd him by the holy Gospels to be friends; being constrain'd to this, as NICEPHORUS observes, by the people of Alexandria, who lov'd their Governor. But this last knew him too well to trust him, upon which their difference became irreconcilable. You may therefore expect to hear of vengeance from the Priest, whom the same NICEPHORUS represents proud, seditious, a boutefeu, a persecutor: while the Emperor might thank himself for the disorders that desolated one of his principal cities; for where was it ever otherwise, when the Clergy were permitted to share in the government of civil affairs?

Ibid.

Ibid.

Hist. lib. 14.
cap. 15.Ibid. videtur etiam
SUIDAS.

XVIII. NOW



XVIII.



OW the revenge which CYRIL took of ORESTES, being the prelude to poor HYPATIA's tragedy, I chuse to relate it, as I have done other passages, in the words of honest SOCRATES.

Hist. lib. 7. cap. 14. Certain of the Monks (says he) living in the Nitrian mountains, leaving their Monasteries to the number of about five hundred, flocked to the city, and spy'd the Governor going abroad in his chariot: wherupon approaching they call'd him by the names of Sacrificer and Heathen, using many other scandalous words. The Governor therefore suspecting, that this was a trick plaid him by CYRIL, cry'd out that he was a Christian, and that he was baptiz'd at Constantinople by Bishop ATTICUS. But the Monks giving no heed to what he said, one of 'em, call'd AMMONIUS, threw a stone at ORESTES, which struck him on the head; and being all cover'd with blood from his wound, his guards, a few excepted, fled some one way some another, hiding themselves in the croud lest they shou'd be ston'd to death. In the mean while the people of Alexandria ran to defend their Governor against the Monks, and, putting all the rest to flight, they apprehended AMMONIUS, and brought him before ORESTES; who, as the Laws prescrib'd, publicly put him to the torture, and rack'd him till he expir'd. Not long after he gave an account of all that was done to the Princes. Nor did CYRIL fail to give them a contrary information. He receiv'd the body of AMMONIUS, and, laying it in one of the Churches, he chang'd his name, calling him

THEODO-
SIUS and
HONORIUS.

bim THAUMASIUS, and order'd him to be consider'd as a Martyr; nay, he made his Panegyric in the Church, extolling his courage, as one that had contended for the Truth. But the wiser sort of the Christians themselves did not approve the zeal, which CYRIL shew'd on this man's behalf; being convinc'd that AMMONIUS had justly suffer'd for his desperate attempt, but was not forc'd to deny CHRIST in his torments. This account requires no commentary. I shall onely observe with a heathen Philosopher, that at that time the Monks (the fittest executioners of CYRIL's cruelty) were men indeed as to their form, but swine in their lives; who openly committed thousands of execrable crimes, not fit to be nam'd. Whoever, says he, got on a black habit, and wou'd make a grotesque figure in public, obtain'd a tyrannical authority: to such a reputation of virtue, did that race of men arrive! This picture, tho drawn by an enemy's hand, is allow'd by all good judges to be done to the life; and we shall presently have reason, more than sufficient, to be of the same opinion.

The ADMIRABLE.

EUNAPIUS
in vita ALEXANDRI.



XIX.

BUT CYRIL's rage was not yet satiated. Tho ORESTES had the good luck to escape being murder'd, HYPATIA must fall a sacrifice to the Prelate's pride and to the ghost of AMMONIUS. This Lady, as we mention'd above, was profoundly respected by ORESTES, who much frequented and consulted her: for which reason, says SOCRATES, she was not a little traduc'd among

Hist. lib. 7.
the cap. 13.

HYPATIA.

the mob of the Christian Church; as if she obstructed a reconciliation between Bishop CYRIL and ORESTES. Wherefore certain hot-brain'd men, headed by one PETER a Lecturer, enter'd into a conspiracy against her, and watching their opportunity when she was returning home from some place, they dragg'd her out of her chair; hurry'd her to the church call'd CESAR'S, and stripping her stark naked, they kill'd her with tiles. Then they tore her to pieces, and carrying her limbs to a place call'd Cinaron, there they burnt them to ashes. Nothing short of this treatment, not to be parallel'd among the most savage nations against a woman (and against a woman of such distinction scarce credible, did not two or more of her contemporaries attest it) nothing, I say, but the blood of HYPATIA, shed in the most inhuman manner, cou'd glut the fury of CYRIL's Clergy: for these were the monsters, that putting off all humanity, committed this barbarous murder. SOCRATES tis true distinctly names but one Clergyman, PETER the Lecturer: but NICEPHORUS expressly tells us, that the zealots, led on by this PETER, were CYRIL's Clergy, who hated her for the credit she had with ORESTES; that they were these, who imputed to her the misunderstanding between the Governor and their Bishop; and finally, that they butcher'd her in the time of solemn fasting: which, added to their sanctifying of their villany by perpetrating it in a Church, shows the glorious state of Religion in those pure and primitive times; as some, no less hypocritically than falsely, are pleas'd to stile them. The citizens of Alexandria, on whom certain persons wou'd fain lay this act of popular heat, as they speak by way of extenuation, were too great admirers of HYPATIA's virtue, and too much in the interest of ORESTES, to have any hand in so foul a business, however prone

Hist. lib.

14. cap. 16.

prone to tumults. All the circumstances accompanying the fact, clearly prove this: not to repeat the assault so lately made by the Nitrian Monks on the Governor, whom the People rescu'd; tho I will not answer for all the mob, especially when the Clergy loo'd them on.



XX.



E it so that the Clergy of Alexandria were the murderers (some may say) and that their affection for CYRIL transported them beyond what can be justify'd: how does it appear that he himself had any hand in this black deed, which perhaps he neither knew nor cou'd prevent? For the sake of our common humanity (since true Christianity is not at all concern'd) I wish it were so: but there is such evidence as will not let any man, if not wilfully shutting his eyes against truth, to believe it. DAMASCIUS, who is the other contemporary witness of her murder I meant besides SOCRATES, positively affirms that CYRIL vow'd HYPATIA's destruction, whom he bitterly envy'd; and SUIDAS, who writes the same thing, says, that this envy was caus'd by her extraordinary wisdom and skill in Astronomy: as HESYCHIUS, when he mentions her limbs being carry'd all over the city in triumph, writes that this befell her on the score of her extraordinary wisdom, and especially her skill in Astronomy. For CYRIL was a mighty pretender to Letters, and one of those Clergymen who will neither acknowledge nor bear the superiority of any Laymen in this respect,

In vita
ISIDORI.

In Γρα-
τια.

In Γρα-
τια.

In Annot.
ad SOCRAT.
lib. 7. cap.
1.

be it ever so incontestable to others. But some circumstances of HYPATIA's death, not mention'd in SOCRATES, are preserv'd in the *Abridgment of ISIDORUS's Life* in PHOTIUS, such as VALESIIUS had it; and which I here give you, reader, tho it shou'd cost you the tribute of one tear more to her memory. Upon a time, says DAMASCIUS, CYRIL passing by the house of HYPATIA, saw a great multitude before the door both of men on foot and on horseback; wherof some were coming, some going, and others stay'd. When he inquir'd what that croud was, and what occasion'd so great a concourse? he was answer'd by such as accompany'd him, that this was HYPATIA the Philosopher's house, and that these came to pay their respects to her. Which when CYRIL understood, he was mov'd with so great envy, that he immediately vow'd her destruction, which he accomplish'd in the most detestable manner. For when HYPATIA, as was her custom, went abroad, several men, neither fearing divine vengeance nor human punishment, suddenly rush'd upon her and kill'd her: thus laying their country both under the highest infamy, and under the guilt of innocent blood. And indeed the Emperor was grievously offended at this matter, and the murderers had been certainly punish'd, but that EDESIUS did corrupt the Emperor's friends: so that his Majesty its true remitted the punishment, but drew vengeance on himself and his posterity, his nephew paying dear for this action. This nephew VALESIIUS believes to have been VALENTINIAN whose mother PLACIDIA was aunt to THEODOSIUS.

Vide SUID.
In Τρα-
γία.



XXI.



THUS ended the life of HYPATIA, whose memory will ever last, and whose murder happen'd in the fourth year of CYRIL's Episcopate, HONORIUS being the tenth time and THEODOSIUS the sixth time Consuls, in the month of March, in the time of Lent, and in the year 415. *That action, says SOCRATES, brought no small infamy not onely upon CYRIL, but also upon the whole Church of Alexandria: for slaughters, and fightings, and such like things, are quite foren to the Christian Institution.* There's nothing surer, there's nothing truer; but of genuin Christianity there remain'd very little at that time, unless Christianity be made to consist in the bare name and profession: for, were I dispos'd to take this trouble upon me, I shou'd think it no difficult task to show, that neither the doctrines nor distinctions then in vogue were ever taught by CHRIST, or his APOSTLES; and that the ceremonies injoin'd or practis'd were all utterly unknown to them. No, no, they were no Christians that kill'd HYPATIA: nor are any Christian Clergymen now to be attack'd thro the sides of her murderers, but those that resemble them; by substituting precarious Traditions, Scholastic fictions, and an usurp'd Dominion, to the salutiferous Institution of the holy JESUS. PHOTIUS is very angry with PHILOSTORGIUS, whom he stigmatizes as an *Impious man*, for saying that the *Homoousians*, or the *ATHANASIAN Trinitarians*, *tore her to*

SOCRAT.
Hist. lib. 7.
cap. 15.

Lib 8. cap.
9 Edit.
Gen.

pieces: but is he not an *Impudent man*, or something worse that dares to deny this? when none were more remarkable sticklers for the *Homoooufion*, than CYRIL and his adherents. This only the truth of history requires to be specially noted: for with me the *Homoioufion* and the *Homoooufion* are of no account, in comparison of the *Bible*, where neither of them are to be found. In the mean time twill not be amiss to hear GOTHOFRED on this occasion. *Observe here*, says he, the ARIAN *poysen* of PHILOSTORGIUS against the Homoooufians or Catholics: *as if the murder of HYPATIA were the crime of the Catholics, and not of the indiscrete Populace.* Thus much however may be gather'd from this passage, that this same HYPATIA was no Catholic. Admirable GOTHOFRED! Not to say any thing to your ARIAN *poysen*, for which I am not a whit concern'd; neither of the People's guilt, whom I have sufficiently clear'd before; nor yet of the nice distinction between the Populace and the Catholics, as if the bulk of the Catholics, were not the Populace: your conclusion that HYPATIA was not a Catholic is unspeakably acute, when in reality she was not as much as a Christian; her father having been a heathen Philosopher, and her self the wife of one, without the least appearance that she was ever any other with regard to her own persuasion. As for a ridiculous Letter, pretended to be written by her to CYRIL about the Paschal Cycle, tis a manifest forgery: for she was murther'd the sixth year of THEODOSIUS, and therefore one and twenty years before the exile of NESTORIUS, who yet is mention'd in that Letter under the epithet of *Impious*.



XXII.

AND now that CYRIL's name puts me once more in mind of him, how insufferable a burlesquing of God and Man is it to revere so ambitious, so turbulent, so perfidious, and so cruel a man, as a *Saint*? since history shows that this was his just character. But in good earnest this same title of *Saint* has not seldom been most wretchedly conferr'd: for the greatest part of the Saints after CONSTANTINE's reign, and especially since Canonization came in fashion, are made up of three sorts of persons, the least of all others meriting veneration. First, men have been dubb'd Saints, for promoting the grandeur of the Church by all their endeavors, especially, by their writings; which, instead of imploying for the happiness or instruction of their fellow citizens, they prostituted to magnify spiritual authority, to the debasing and enslaving of their spirits. The second sort that have been honor'd with Saintship, were Princes and other powerful or rich men, however vicious or tyrannical, who gave large possessions and legacies to the Church; or that with incapacity, faggot, gibbet, sword, and proscription, chastis'd the temerity of such as dar'd to question her decrees. The third sort, were poor groveling visionaries, boasting of their delirious enthusiasms and extasies; or imposing on the ignorant by formal mortifications, falsely reputed devotion, and were recompens'd with this imaginary reward, by those that despis'd their au-

K 4

sterity,

sterity, at the same time that they mainly thriv'd by the credit of it. 'Tis no wonder then, that when the epithet *Saint*, which peculiarly belong'd to Piety and Innocence, was thus pompously bestow'd on Vice and Impiety, there shou'd prevail that deluge of Ignorance, Superstition, and Tyranny, which overwhelm'd almost the whole Christian world. All the Persecutions that infu'd, were so many forcible means, imploy'd to suppress any efforts that might be us'd for the restoring of Virtue and Learning. By that Antichristian spirit fell HYPATIA, to whom the Clergy of her time cou'd never forgive, that she was beautiful yet chaste; farr more learned than themselves, not to be indur'd in the Laity; and in greater credit with the civil Magistrate, whom the Clergy of that time wou'd needs drive or lead as their Pack-ass.

F I N I S.



MANGONEUTES:

BEING A

DEFENCE

OF

NAZARENUS,

ADDRESS

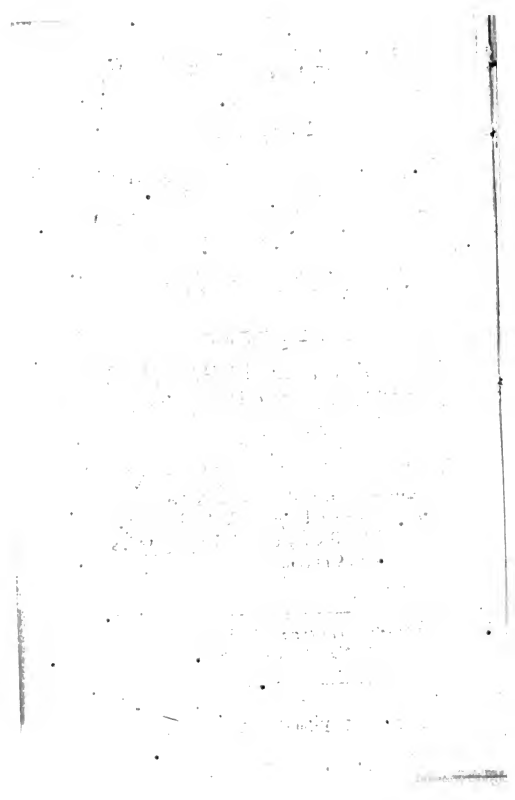
To the right reverend *JOHN* Lord
BISHOP of *LONDON*,

AGAINST

His Lordship's Chaplain Dr. MANGEY, his
Dedicator Mr. PATERSON, and (who
ought to have been nam'd first) the re-
verend Dr. BRET, once belonging to his
Lordship's Church.

*An, si quis atro dente me petiverit,
Inultus ut flebo puer?* Horat. Epod. 6.

LONDON, Printed in the YEAR 1720.





MANGO NEUTES.

I.



ONE can justly wonder (my Lord) at the address I now take the liberty of making to you, when they consider; that of all the arguments, us'd on the behalf of Diocesan Episcopacy, these two are not the least important: first, the necessity of a President to admit the Presbyters regularly into the ministerial function, who is consequently to be a judge of their capacities and abilities; secondly, the necessity of an Inspector into the behavior and conduct of those Presbyters, who are therefore to be subject to his Government. For these reasons no Bishop can take it ill, if the misconduct or incapacity of any of his Clergy be dutifully laid before him; especially by one, that has been grievously injur'd by them in both these respects: and, whatever they may fancy (some of whom are but too apt not to fancy the best of their superiors) I shou'd look upon my self as a disparager of Episcopacy, if I did not take it for granted, that every Bishop cou'd not onely effectually regulate the manners of his Clergy, which is no greater talent than Lay-magistrates can

can exercise; but that they likewise every one of them understood all the learned Languages to perfection, particularly those in whom the Scriptures have been originally written, and that they were absolutely appriz'd both of the several systems of Divinity and of all Church-history from the Apostles's time to this day. He, who thinks the contrary, is not of opinion that one person is fitter to rule and examine, than a select number, be they ever so prudent, so pious, or so able: besides that such a man ought to be shrewdly suspected of reflecting on your Lordship, whose frequent and numerous Ordinations we learn by the public papers. Nor do I in the least doubt, for my part, but you take as much care that the young Preachers be duely qualify'd by secular attainments and spiritual gifts, as by canonical titles and the special vocation of the holy Ghost. But lest I might be thought to bespeak your favor, who desire nothing but a clear stage and fair play, I humbly acquaint your Lordship, that some time ago I wrote a Book intitul'd NAZARENUS, which the care of your Diocese, and the examination of so many candidates for the gown, may not have given you time to read; tho abundance of those who have read it no more than your self, were the forwardest to blame and condemn it. Nevertheless, how giddy and prepossess'd soever some of the Laity may be, none of them prov'd guilty of this gross injustice; till a filthy noise was made by one or two of your Lordship's Clergy, as little masters of the subject as of their tempers; and then some of the most ignorant and sequacious Laity fell in with the cry, whom I shall wholly forget and heartily forgive, as not knowing what they did. But to my no small comfort on the other hand, several persons, distinguish'd by their character no less than their number, found

no harm in my book, nay many found what they much approv'd in it; and have readily adopted the plan of Religion therein laid down, or the *essential distinction of Gentil and Jewish Christians*. I have letters of thanks from several learned men on this subject, which I prefer to the applause of all superficial pretenders, as they make sufficient amends for their clamor and senseless calumnies. The occasion of my book was the discovery I made of an apocryphal *Gospel* father'd upon the Apostle BARNABAS, and interpolated if not quite forg'd by the Mahometans. I cou'd not imagine that the communicating of this discovery to the world shou'd be any crime, after the voluminous discussion of such apocryphal pieces by COOK, RIVET, DAILLE, SIMON, ITTIGIUS, GRABE, MILLS, FABRICIUS, and such others; among whom the excellent PFAFFIUS, Professor at Tubinge, is pleas'd to reckon my ¹ self, on account of the *notable Catalogue* he says *I gave in* AMYNTOR. And that same no less celebrated than able and industrious FABRICIUS, whom I have just nam'd, has very lately, in the third volume of his ² *Apocryphal Code of the New Testament*, inserted the whole historical part of NAZARENUS, without altering or omitting one word. But some of your

¹ Quod verò eos attinet, qui vel planè supposititium censent esse Novum Testamentum, aut saltem maximam illius partem, quod veteres Hæretici magno numero arbitrati sunt, nova Evangelia, Acta, Literas, Apocalypses, aliosque libellos orbi Christiano obtrudentes, quorum (præter summos viros Jo. ALB. FABRICIUM in Codice apocrypho Novi Testamenti, Jo. ERNEST. GRABIUM in Spicilegio Patrum, itemque Jo. MILLIUM in Prolegomen. ad Novum Test. part. 2da; & quos primùm nominare debebam, Jo. DALLÆUM, RIC. SIMONIUM, THO. ITTIGIUM, aliosque) insignem dedit Catalogum Jo. TOLANDUS in Amyntore, part. 1. pag. 20—38. In *Dissert. Crit. de genuina librorum Novi Testamenti lectione rite investiganda*. cap. 1. §. 2.

² From page 387, to page 394.

- Lordship's Clergy, without your privity or approbation to be sure, have with equal virulence and unfairness attack'd me on this very score. Their procedure puts me in mind of lamenting with your Lordship and all good men, for that perverse disposition in some of our Protestant Clergy, which ought to be solely left to the Popish Clergy, whose Practice as well as Interest it is to keep the people in ignorance. The thing I mean is the strange uneasiness they show, and too manifest to be deny'd, that any of the Laity shou'd ever write on points of Divinity or Ecclesiastical history: whereas by the original right of Nature, and the main principle of the Reformation, tis the privilege of every man, whether by word or by writing, to inform others, or to seek information from them; and this in all places, the Pulpits and other public Chairs onely excepted, which no man may lawfully fill, but they to whom the supreme power has assign'd them. To confine writing on the subjects mention'd to any one set of men, wou'd be the certain way in a short time to have neither true doctrine nor true history; as is the case in fact, where and whenever this practice has been sottishly authoriz'd or even indulg'd. Ignorance becoming thus triumphant begets Credulity, as Credulity unavoidably occasions Lyes; and Lyes have recourse to Force for their support against Reason, which left free wou'd soon expose them to contempt, and then quite explode them. This is the natural progress to that spiritual Tyranny, which as Freemen and Britons, under the best of Kings, with a family educated to protect Liberty civil and religious, I have no apprehension (thanks be to heaven) shou'd happen in our days, nor of a long while afterwards, maugre all machinations to the contrary. Wherefore I shall take up none of your Lordship's time, with suggesting means to obviate
such

such a tyranny. But I wish that envious and bitter disposition, which has taken up the room of it in the most groveling spirits, may be seasonably check'd; for as there is no such despicable composition in the world, as ignorance and malice join'd together: so there is no readier way to make the inferior Clergy both disrespected and disregarded, than this odious manner of writing; which I make no question therefore, but you'll exercise your utmost authority either to prevent or to correct in those that are guilty.

II. To come now to the particular Persons of whom I have reason to complain, if their rage and scurrility be not a strong presumption that I am in the right, tis however a certain sign that they are so farr in the wrong: as I shall make them appear to be much farther so, by demonstrating that they have had no regard to truth or honor; going directly contrary to plain matters of fact, and attributing designs to me that never came into my head. As tis observ'd of leud women, that what's uppermost in their thoughts comes soonest into their mouths, calling every other woman *whore* that gives 'em the least provocation: so it may reasonably be thought to fare with certain men, that charge every one who differs from them with *Infidelity*, to which their conduct no doubt is some temptation in weak minds; and if the misrepresentation of my adversaries will not warrant me to abandon all Christianity, yet it will necessarily give me a very indifferent notion of theirs. So farr have they been from dealing with me like good Christians, that they have not acted like honest Heathens; who wou'd never (for example) make the objections of others pass for my own, and this even after I had solv'd 'em. I must (forsooth) be an unbeliever for grounding
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my Religion on the *Scripture*, which I make the sole rule of faith, by which Fathers, Councils, all Christian writings and determinations ought to be try'd. But I hope to convince your Lordship before I have done, that I espouse, as I profess, the Religion truly taught by *JESUS* and the Apostles, stript of all fabulous or superstitious disguises, free from all human additions, mixtures, and inventions. That I did not write my book in Latin is the peculiar objection of certain mungrel Divines who study *MACCHIAVEL* more than the Bible, and who have an admirable project of telling onely half truths, which makes 'em consider'd but as half-politicians, by those who are for telling no truth at all. Now, waving all generalities, I begin with Mr. *MANGEY*, one of your domestic Chaplains, who's reported to have receiv'd his degree of Doctor, as a reward for clapping a masquerading habit on *NAZARENUS*: nor shall I wonder if this report proves to be true, having been us'd to bestow ecclesiastical preferments; for I made a Bishop before now in another kingdom, that deserv'd the mitre full as richly as your Chaplain the hood. I sincerely believe Dr. *MANGEY*, when he says in his Preface, that *he undertook his answer not onely without the incouragement and importunity of friends, but without the privity of some, and against the judgement of others.* Whatever were the reasons of those gentlemen (for discreet friends will not always give their true reasons, but the likeliest to persuade) tis certain they knew the Doctor better than he did himself. His apology for not hearkening to them will never hold water: for if my book be weak and contemptible, and neither my religion nor learning worth notice, how came he to take notice of either of them? what makes him wish that I may retrieve, if possible, the great mischief I have done to Christianity? or is this

page 1.

Ibid.

Ibid. page 2.

Ibid. p. 5.

this a futeable idea of Christianity, that a man who writes weakly and contemptibly, and no way deserving notice, shou'd be able to do it irretrievable mischief? I am a stranger to the discipline us'd about Chaplains, but I beg your Lordship wou'd be mild in correcting him, tho the blunder be so egregious, to give it no harsher name; as, that the best religion, supported by the greatest learning, shou'd run imminent danger from a weak and illiterate creature. I will not say that the Doctor is one of those, who wou'd rather pass for knaves than fools: yet since he, who's so sharp-sighted in discerning the weakness of others, cannot be suppos'd weak himself, what at first sight looks like a blunder, must rather be counted an artifice; and is very plainly the fifth of the twelve, laid to the charge of those that use them, in the Preface to NAZARENUS. It is, *that almost in the same* P. 18, 19, *breath they make the same man equally stupid and* 20. *cunning; telling you in this page, that his whole performance is so insuperably dull and incoherent, as scarce to deserve animadversion: which in the next page they contradict themselves, not onely in the oil and sweat they expend to confute him; but in laying his plot so deep for him, and reporting his skill so formidable, as to call for abler hands, nay sometimes for the magistrate, to take him to task. Your Lordship sees I was a prophet.*

Omnia praecepi, atque animo mecum ante peregi:

Virg. Aen. 6. v. 105.

And since your Chaplain says he cannot tell how many Pref p. 4: *of these foul arts will be laid to his charge; I answer, every one of 'em, tho none so universally as being foul-mouth'd, which is the tenth. Thus I exprest it. If the dispute be about matters of fact, Ubi supra. and that a man produces authorities no less apt than*

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numerous,

numerous, this they call a show of reading, or borrow'd Learning [as he has done more than once or twice] endeavoring to depreciate what they cannot disprove, and sanctifying their illiberal scurrility with the name of ZEAL: for of all men they are the most bitter and foulmouth'd against an adversary, which the Popish Jesuits commend as meritorious, and which the Protestant Jesuits practise as if it were so; meaning by these last, such as act like the first. In a word, he cou'd not succede better, if he had purposely intended his book for a Commentary on those 12 artifices, us'd by corrupt Clergymen; and therefore I earnestly recommend the reading of the one to all who have read the other. Conscious of his unjustifiable proceeding, and perhaps dreading your Lordship's displeasure, he promises that if his ZEAL hath betray'd him: *to say any bitter thing, unworthy of a Christian or a Clergyman* [I thought till now that all Clergymen look'd upon themselves to be Christians] *he shall very readily retract it.* I am not the man that will desire it, I assure him; as firmly believing he wou'd maintain he was not bitter enough, and that the sharpest stile is most worthy the character of a Clergyman. I know the authorities produc'd for sanctify'd invectives by such as the Doctor, and I willingly consent they shou'd cite JEROM against VIGILANTIUS; with some other Fathers, in comparison of whom fishwomen are reserv'd: but I can by no means approve their abusing the names of the Apostles, who either excuse the excesses into which they unwarily fell; or had that discerning of spirits and extraordinary commission, to which no man now dares pretend.

Pref.

Page 5.

III. I SHOU'D onely mispend your Lordship's time and my own, by insisting any longer on Dr. MANGEY's character of me, or his language

guage towards me, which I have solely mention'd for example-sake; being perswaded that his opinion neither has, nor ever will weigh a grain with any man, whose judgement I value. How mean soever my parts or attainments may be, I have learnt this good lesson from an antient sage; that ³ *I ought to esteem that to be great learning, which enables me to bear with the unpoliteness of the ignorant.* But as the Doctor has no right to explain my meaning, whom of all men I wou'd not chuse for it, who's so unhappy in explaining his own, witness his *Plain notions of the Trinity*: so much less ought he or any man be suffer'd to falsify public writings, any more than to counterfeit the public coin; and by a notorious falshood to represent a man doing that, which is not only contrary to his intention, but likewise to the Laws. The very title of his book against me is an imposture. *Remarks upon NAZARENUS, wherein the falsity of Mr. TOLAND's Mahometan GOSPEL, and his misrepresentation of Mahometan sentiments in respect of Christianity, are set forth; &c. The falsity of Mr. TOLAND's Mahometan Gospel, quoth a?* Who wou'd not imagine after this, if a stranger to NAZARENUS, but that I had asserted the truth of that Gospel? which I have been so far from doing, that I mist no opportunity of detecting the forgery. At first he was very loath, it seems, to believe such a thing of me. *The Mr. Toland's name, says he, was wrote in red letters in front, I could not even then suspect him to be either so weak or wicked, as to assert in earnest this Mahometan Gospel.* And have I been so weak or

Page 3.

³ Μεγαλὴν παιδείαν νομίζε, δι' ἣν δύνηται φέρειν ἀγνοούντων ἀπαιδεύσιαν. Demophil. Sentent. Pythagor.

Page 10.

so wicked, as either in jest or in earnest to do it? If he's not able to bring any passage to this purpose, or looking in the least that way, I need not inform your Lordship what to call him, nor how to treat him. Again, *The author of NAZARENUS has offer'd so weak proofs for his Gospel of BARNABAS, that one wou'd suspect, that he meant not so much to prove this true, as to make it probable that all the rest were false or uncertain.* But still I ask where I have offer'd any proof for the truth of it? and whether his imputeing such a thing to me against all evidence, be a good proof that he has more respect for the four Gospels, than I have for that of BARNABAS? A true or canonical Gospel I have not dreamt of making it, nor so much as even the work of BARNABAS, whom I no where affirm to have written a Gospel; but that *among the numerous GOSPELS handed about in the primitive Church, and pronounc'd apocryphal by the majority of Christians, there was one attributed to BARNABAS.* You see I discours'd of apocryphal books, which are many of 'em specify'd in the margin of that passage; where I do not say that a Gospel was written by BARNABAS, but that one was *anciently attributed to him*, than which there is nothing more undeniable. Speaking afterwards of the discovery of a Gospel so call'd, I do not say, *we have at length found out the Gospel of BARNABAS*, but *the Gospel father'd of old upon BARNABAS, and that not in its original purity.* What can there be more decisive, or what cou'd be less ambiguously express'd? As I have carefully read all the publish'd apocryphal pieces, going under the names of the Apostles, or of their companions and immediate successors, I have with several others, who were at the same pains, form'd such an idea of them;

Nazarenius,
page 6.Ibid. page
21.

as to gueſs, pritty near by the ſtile and contents at the time of writing them, over and above the preſumptive evidence ariſing from the firſt time we find them mention'd. After the moſt leiſurely peruſal of the book in queſtion, I conclude it was originally a Chriſtian forgery, like the *Gospels of JAMES, of the Infancy of JESUS, and of NICODEMUS*, which you know are ſtill extant intire: but, as I remark'd in NAZARENUS, that MAHOMET and the Mahometan writers make much uſe of ſuch apocryphal pieces; ſo this has been remarkably interpolated by ſome Mahometan, which is a pious fraud that I wiſh were confin'd to thoſe onely of that ſect. After this mature examination I cou'd ſafely ſay, *that this Gospel might in the main be the antient Gospel of BARNABAS: tho the Mahometan Interpolations were too palpable not to be eaſily diſtinguiſh'd.* I ſpoke to the ſame purpoſe before, and thence concluded, *that the Gospel of BARNABAS was not yet extinct, as all Chriſtian writers had hitherto imagin'd.* But what *Gospel of BARNABAS*? not one written by himſelf, ſince we have no evidence that he left any ſuch monument: but the *Gospel* that was antiently attributed to him, father'd upon him, and forg'd under his name, which are the expreſſions I ſo often uſe, ſuppoſing withall, that BARNABAS's differing from PAUL, and quitting his company, *did probably give a handle to IMPOSTORS of framing a Gospel in his name.* As I cou'd not be more expreſs, My Lord, ſo the following remark appears not to have been made at random. *Here you have not onely a new Gospel, but alſo a true one, if you believe the Mahometans. But how honeſt ſoever they may be represented, this is a topic where none are to be credited without the utmoſt caution; ſince, tho every GOSPEL forbids lying,*

Page 11
&c.
Page 61.
Page 9.
Page 34.
Page 15
yet

yet never are more lyes told than about the Gospel. There needs not a greater proof of it, than the numberless lies that have been spread about this same Gospel of BARNABAS, which forbids lying no less than the best. After all these passages, Doctor MANGEY, if he had not thought wilful misrepresentation an evangelical duty, might spare the pains he has taken, in the 17th and following pages of his book, to prove against me that this Gospel is not genuin; and to show me, who never thought of it, which way I shou'd go about to prove it to be so. For neglecting this, *an errant bungler and a heretic in Criticism* are names too gentle for me; to make amends for which, he afterwards found out that of *a sorry unbelieving Critic*. Another crime for which he has arraign'd me, is affirming that the antients mention'd this Gospel of BARNABAS: which they cou'd not do, says

Page 83. the Doctor, because GELASIUS, the first who mentions it, liv'd near five hundred Years after CHRIST. And did I averr that any mention'd it before him? or did I even make him the first mentioner? having observ'd, that the Decree bearing his name, was attributed by some to DAMASUS before him, as by others to HORMISDAS after him: notwithstanding which observation after several others, he has the candor to charge me with

Page 7. great ignorance or sly artifice, in either not knowing or concealing, that this Canon, in the opinion of the ablest Critics, is not so old as the date it bears. Your Lordship perceives, that I was neither so ignorant nor so sly: but whether it were ignorance or slyness in your Chaplain to represent me thus, I leave your self to determine. Now, be it GELASIUS or DAMASUS, or any of those the Critics please, that first mention'd it; was he not antient with respect to us? are not those of the fourth and fifth centuries reckon'd antients by

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all men? and were not the compilers of those *Indexes of the Scriptures*, which I quoted as witnesses of what past in their own times, *antient Ecclesiastical writers*? Here I take occasion to add part of another to them, out of the Chancellor SEGUIER's Library, mention'd in the *Catalogue* of it by the learned MONTFAUCON, and which may be read there by the curious.

Εὐαγγέ-
λιον κατὰ
Ματθαίαν.
κῆ: Εὐαγγέ-
λιον κατὰ
Ματ-
θαίαν. Pag.

IV. I HAVE hitherto dwelt upon things falsely laid to my charge, and now come to a thing justly imputed to me, but which is no less unjustly than amazingly deny'd by my adversary; when the unanimous current of all competent witnesses, antient and modern, are against him. It is, that I call Mahometanism *the Religion of the four books*: and that *tho the Mahometans do hold by Tradition that ADAM, NOAH, ENOCH, ABRAHAM, and other Patriarchs and Prophets, had several books divinely sent 'em (even to the number of 104) containing divine revelations; yet the onely obligatory ones are, according to them, the Pentateuch of MOSES, the Psalms of DAVID, the Gospel of JESUS, and the Alcoran of MAHOMET.* This I confess to have said, and will abide by it. But let's hear the Doctor. *To prove that the Ma-* pag. 25.
hometans receive the Gospel, he observes, that tho they believe 104 [he shou'd have added books, since all books are not Gospels] to be sent from heaven, yet four of them are only obligatory. He quotes the names of several writers, to prove this particularly in respect of the Gospel, but he artificially omits their words. The cause, my Lord, requires no artifice, and I us'd none: nor have I therfore omitted the words of my Authors, except where they were nothing to the purpose. RELAND's Compend (for example) and GABRIEL Sionita, whom he quotes after me, reckon up with
L 4 others

See Naza-
renus, cap.
3 & 4. pag.
9, 10, 11,
12, 13.

others the ten books sent to ADAM, fifty to SETH, thirty to ENOCH, and ten to ABRAHAM, which I pass by, for being no longer obligatory, as I observ'd before; and onely insisted on the four, with which both of them conclude; and whose titles they give, these being the books on which the Mahometans directly profess to ground their Religion. To those two writers I added the words of ALGAZEL, and that of another *Formulary* out of MARACCI's *Prodromus*. The words of LEVINUS WARNER I omitted for the same reason, of not superfluously crouding my book. But since the Doctor seems as fond of words, as others of things, I shall here oblige him with the words of some more Authors, whose authority is unexceptionable. The first shall be the *Treatise concerning the manners, conditions, and wickedness of the Turks*, printed at Paris in the year of CHRIST 1511 by HENRY STEPHENS; together with RICOLDUS, whom the Doctor himself quotes after others under the Gothic name of RICHARD; and of whom I shall take occasion to say something before I have done. The Author of the *Treatise concerning the manners and conditions of the Turks* was twenty years a captive among them, and attain'd to that knowledge in their doctrine and in their language (even to the forgetting of his own) that he was judg'd fit for the Priesthood, and deserving to enjoy no small benefice, wou'd he continue among them, as he once intended. Now follow his words. *The general opinion of almost all the Turks*

4 Communis opinio omnium ferè Turcorum de Lege eorum talis est. Dicunt enim primum Prophetam magnam, cui data fuit Lex primitus a Deo, fuisse MISSAM; id est, MOSES, cui datus est liber Testis, quem nos *Pentateuchum* nominamus: et omnem hominem, qui eo tempore legem observasset, salvatum esse. Cum

Turks concerning their Law is this. They say that the first great Prophet, to which God gave originally a Law was MISSAH, that is, MOSES, to whom was given the book Tefrit, which we call the Pentateuch; and that every one, who then observ'd this Law, was sav'd. But that after the malice and negligence of men had, in process of time, corrupted this Law, as a remedy of such prevarication was chosen the second great Prophet DAJIT, by us call'd DAVID; to whom was given the book Czabúr, which we stile the Psalter. This, after the manner of the former, being successively observ'd and corrupted, there was also added the third great Prophet YESSE, that is, JESUS; to whom was sent the third Law with the book Vigilis, which we name the Gospel, and which in its time was to all the means of Salvation. This being at length antiquated like the preceding books, MAHOMET was chosen the fourth Prophet, who from God receiv'd a Law with the book call'd the Alcoran; which alone, all the former being evacuated, is by them fully and firmly preach'd and asserted to contain the necessary means of salvation, till another succedes. This they think shall not happen in this World: and as Christians believe the New Testament is come

Cum autem, per successum temporis, humana malicia et negligentia hanc legem corrupisset, in hujus praevaricationis remedium electus est secundus Propheta magnus DAJIT, quem nos DAVID dicimus; cui datus est liber Czabúr, quem nos Psalterium vocamus. Quo, prioris modo, servato et corrupto, tertius quoque Propheta magnus subjunctus est YESSE, id est JESUS; cui tertia lex cum libro Vigilis, quem nos Evangelium dicimus, missa est, quae suis temporibus omnibus causa salutis fuit. Ea tandem, praecedentium modo evacuata, quartus electus est MAHOMETES, qui legem cum libro, qui Alcoranus dictus est, a Deo accepit; quae, evacuatris omnibus antehabitis, sola necessitatem salutis (donec alia supervenerit) plenè et indubitanter ab eis praedicatur et dicitur habere. De moribus, conditionibus, & nequitia Turcorum libellus, &c. cap. 13. pag. 42 folio verso.

into

Page 24.

into the room of the *Old*, which yet is the foundation on which the other is built; so the Mahometans believe concerning the succession of the four books, the authority of the three former being frequently alledg'd in all their writings. There is nothing more certain, notwithstanding Dr. MANGEY will venture to affirm, that tho the Mahometans do acknowledge a Gospel to have been formerly sent from heaven to JESUS, yet they allow that Gospel no force or authority, they produce no testimonies from it, nor do any of them read it as a sacred book. Our present Gospels, which, as I remark'd in more than one place of NAZARENUS, they brand with corruption and falsification, they neither read nor quote: but that their writings contain numerous passages out of a Gospel, said by them to be that of JESUS, and which they allow to be divine whether extant or not, I promise to show your Lordship, whenever you please to honor me with your commands. His own fryar RICHARD, who's so farr from being judicious and sincere, that he's in many things both ignorant and fabulous, yet in his 2d chapter owns, that not onely the Christians, but also the Saracens themselves hold the Law of MOSES, and the Prophets, and the GOSPEL, to be from God. *We have the truth of the Gospel*, says he, *to which the Alcoran it self bears witness, and approves it.* His whole 3d chapter is to prove, that the *Alcoran* is not the Law of God, because not attested to be so by the *Old and New Testament*, which the Mahometans themselves must necessarily believe by their own principles. But that is not our present Gospel, as RICOLDUS well remarks, which they pretend is corrupted many ways, and particularly because the name of MAHOMET is raz'd out of it. I leave the Dr. to verify these quotations by the original words.

words. In the 15th chapter RICOLDUS says that the *Saracens are nothing, unless they fulfill the Law and the Gospel*. He's very large on the same argument in the following chapter; and in the 17th he says the Mahometans maintain, that the *Alcoran* succeeded the *Gospel*. The *Gospel* therefore, whether truly extant or not, is in their opinion part of the foundation of their Religion, as the *Old Testament* is of ours. This I asserted with the best judges, and Dr. MANGEY has the temerity to deny it. That they have more books than the bulk of Christians imagine, I cou'd bring many vouchers, or at least that they pretend to have such. I shall here content my self with the testimony of the reverend Mr. *Edward Terry*, in his *Voyage to the East Indies*. He was Chaplain to the Ambassador Sir THOMAS ROWE, and Rector of Greenford in Middlesex. *The Mahometans say, that they have the books of MOSES; but they have very much corrupted that story, in ascribing that to ISMAEL which is said of ISAAC, as if ISMAEL shou'd have been sacrific'd and not ISAAC—They say that they have the book of DAVID's Psalms, and some writings of SOLOMON, with other parcels of the Old Testament; which if so, I believe are made much to vary from the story.* Page 277. *Gen. 22.*

I believe so too, and affirm'd as much in NAZARENUS; yet am fully perswaded that they have a *Pentateuch* and *Psalms* such as they are, and that they often sing portions of the last, which is not now the subject before me. But because the words and authority of one who was not onely an Englishman, but likewise a Batchelor of Divinity, may weigh more with Dr. MANGEY about the four books, than those of Arabian Mahometans, or Christian foreners; I shall produce those of THOMAS SMITH B. D. out of his *Remarks upon the manners, religion, and government of the Turks*. He was afterwards Dr. SMITH, commonly

Page 102.

monly nicknam'd *Togray*, and as stanch a Churchman as my adversaries cou'd wish. *It is the highest unkindness in the world*, says he, *not to believe them, when they swear one particular Oath; for then they are most serious, and desire to remove all possible suspicion of falshood: which is, BY THE TRUTH OF THE FOUR BOOKS* the thing is so or so, or I will do this or that, meaning the Law of MOSES, the Psalter of DAVID, the Gospel of JESUS, and the Alcoran of MAHOMET, for they look on the three first also as sacred, and reverence their authority. If I had not this gentleman to bear me out, with several others that shall appear when necessary, I make no doubt but the Doctor wou'd question the very existence of my nameless Arabians, who judge it needless to trouble him at present. Nor is this conjecture at all improbable, since notwithstanding Monsieur DE LA MONNOYE's account, which was printed on purpose to prevent all sinister surmises, he calls the notice I give of the Gospel of BARNABAS a *sham discovery*. I wou'd have the Doctor to know that I am no coiner, and that I think an impious coiner of a book under the name of an Apostle, to deserve as severe a punishment, as a false coiner of money, bearing the King's name and inscription. The reality of my discovery is sufficiently known to all Europe: and so will now the reality of the Mahometans allowing the four books to be the foundation of their Religion, to any man that cou'd doubt of it before. Wherefore, as your Lordship bears an awful regard to the good faith requir'd by the light of Nature, and the sacred truth injoin'd by the precepts of the Gospel, I hope you'll procure me due reparation from your dome-

Page 3.

† See *Menagiana* Edit. Amst. vol. 4. p. 321. Also NAZARYUS. Append. II. pag. 9—13.

tic, for *averring that I have utter'd a falshood in* Page 27.
saying, that it is the constant and general belief of
Mahometans, that these four books [the Pentateuch,
the Psalms, the Gospel, and the Alcoran] consti-
tute the foundation of their Religion, or that Mabo-
metanism is generally call'd [I said, call'd by some] Nazaren.
the Religion of the four books. That I have made page 11.
 this undeniably evident I appeal to the public,
 which I doubt not will do me justice, both in this
 point and the rest of the controversy, shou'd your
 Lordship happen to forget it.

V. WHEN the Doctor discourses of Mahometan Christianity (a subject he had better let alone, since he knows so little about it) he's very Page 43.
 angry with such as speak well of the Mahometans
 where they deserve it: for in other respects those
 persons are as little favorers of Mahometanism,
 as any Chaplain you have, or the most orthodox
 in your diocese. He quotes my self representing Ibid.
 the Mahometans as *a sort of Christians, and not*
the worst sort neither: but stops short there,
 whereas I go on and say, that *they are farr from* Pref. p. 3.
being the best. What kind of Christianity allows
 this proceeding one of your Lordship's great read-
 ing and experience can best tell; but tis manifest
 that the Mahometans, whom (after PETER
 MARTYR by name, and hundreds not nam'd)
 I stil'd a sect or sort of Christians, allow no such
 disingenuous dealing: and are therefore in this re-
 spect better, than such as use it or connive at it;
 as they are likewise better than Idolatrous Chri-
 stians, than tritheistical Christians, than persecut-
 ing Christians, than several other sorts of false
 Christians I cou'd easily specify. No considera-
 tion shall prevail with me to refuse any party of
 men the good qualities or principles they may
 have, notwithstanding their bad ones. This same
 dispo-

disposition of mind has brought the late no less learned than modest ADRIAN RELAND under Dr. MANGEY's displeasure. Indeed he's not without company in his anger: nor do I wonder at it in a tribe of men who declaim'd against *Moderation* in Queen ANNE's reign, and against *Sincerity* under King GEORGE, in this however very consistent with their own principles and practises. RELAND in the Preface to his *Two books concerning the Mahometan Religion*, professedly detests the false accounts which most men give of other men's Religion, which he exemplifies in the calumnies of the Heathens against the Jews, of the Heathens and Jews against the first Christians, of the Papists against the Reform'd, and of almost all sects against their adversaries. *And I apprehend*, ' says he, *that my present labor in examining the Mahometan Religion, and setting it forth such as really it is in it self, may give occasion to our adversaries, of propagating the same calumny with greater confidence. Yet I shall not suffer my self by so vain an apprehension to be frighted from going on with my undertaking. We ought to search after the Truth wherever it lies, and it is a laudable endeavor in my opinion to set a stop to lies, and to acquaint every one that desires it, with a Religion which is spread farr and wide: not to exhibit it disguiz'd, not overspread with the clouds of false-*

6 Et vereor, ne ipse hic labor meus in indaganda Religione Mahomedica, & ea exhibenda uti revera est, occasionem daturus sit adversariis nostris, eandem calumniam majori fiducia propagandi. Nec tamen patiar me tam vano metu ab incepto deterri. Veritas, ubicunque est, indagari debet; & laudabile studium mihi videtur mendacis obicem ponere, & Religionem longè latèque diffusam unicuique qui vult conspiciendam exhibere: non fucatam, non obtectam maledicentiae vel errorum nebulis, sed ita uti docetur in Templis & Scholis Mohammedicis; ut certis ictibus eam impetere, & si non animo ipsorum Turcarum, nostro saltem vanitatem ejus persuadere possimus. *Edit. secund. pag. 8. n. 4.*

hood and mistakes, but as it is taught in the Mahometan Temples and Schools; that we may strike home at it with sure blows, and be able, if not to persuade the Turks against it, yet to convince our selves of its vanity. Then a good deal lower it remains, says 7 he, that I add a word or two concerning my self, and intreat the reader not to misconstrue to a bad sense whatever labor I may have bestow'd in writing these two books. It was not my design to palliate or beautify, much less to propagate or defend the Mahometan Religion, which I execrate. Whoever shou'd thus judge of me, wou'd highly injure both me and the truth. I was oblig'd, if I propos'd truth as the scope of my writing, to apologize for the Mahometan Religion in many things, which are falsely attributed to them. If any body thinks it a better way to spread those lies, which without any foundation of good authority, are told of the Turks; as that they are fools, asses, madmen, devils, or if any thing worse be said of them, than with me to reject them: he may do it for all me, who experience more and more every day, that the world loves to be cheated, and to be govern'd by preconceiv'd opinions. But Dr. MANGEY affirms that Professor RELAND has Page 43. given a favorable, and, in some respects, a false account of the Mahometans; and makes them to be

7 Restat ut de me aliquid addam, & lectorem rogem, ne in malam partem interpretetur laborem qualemcunque meum, duobus hifce libris impensum. Non fuit mihi propositum religionem Mahomedicam (quam exoror) palliare aut fucare, nedum propugnare aut defendere. Qui hoc de me iudicium ferret, nae ille gravem mihi injuriam faceret, & a vero aberraret. Debui patrocinium causae Mohammedicae suscipere, si vera scribere vellem, in multis quae falso iis tribuuntur. Si quis illa mendacia, quae nulla auctoritate suffulta de Turcis errantur, malit propagare, ut bardi illi, & asini, & infani, & diabli, & si quid pejus, audiant, per me licet; qui quotidie magis magisque experior mundum decipi velle, & praeconceptionis opinionibus regi. *Ibid.* p. 47. n. 13.

bely'd

bely'd and misrepresented by the Christian writers, in respect of the absurdities of the Alcoran. This last part of the accusation is true enough, which ought to be no such mighty wonder, since the Christians so grossly bely one another every day: but as to the first part, that in any point he has given a false account of them, neither Dr. MANGHEY, nor any else, can ever show against the most candid of men. In the meantime, he did from his heart abhor the real fables and absurdities of the Mahometans, as did his and my Master * SPANHEMIUS; who yet, as became a person of unsophisticated Learning and an ingenuous spirit, instead of railing at MAHOMET for a frantic and senseless fellow (tho heartily owning him to have been a wicked Impostor) says ⁹ *it is certain, that he was richly furnished with natural endowments, of a beautiful presence, having a subtle genius, agreeable manners, showing liberality to the poor, courtesy to every body, fortitude against his enemies, and above all things a reverend regard for the name of God.* Somewhat lower (after mentioning the provision he made against drunkenness, extortion, gaming, luxury, and swearing) he affirms, what every one must own who reads the *Alcoran*, that ¹⁰ *he was severe against perjur'd persons, adulterers,*

8 He likewise heard TRIGLAND and MA'K, at whose public Lectures I attended: yet tis not alone to his I me, but also to his writings that I appeal, as to his candor. Facts are obstinate things.

9 *Id certum, 1, naturalibus egregiè dotibus instructum Muhammedem, forma præstanti, ingenio callido, moribus facietis, ac præferentem liberalitatem in egenos, comitatum in singulos, fortitudinem in hostes, ac præ ceteris reverentiam divini nominis. Hist. Eccles. secul. 7. cap. 7. lem. 5. col. 1209.*

10 *Severus fuit in perjuros, adulteros, homicidas, obtreptatores, prodigos; avaros, falsos testes, &c. Magni idem patientiæ, charitatis, misericordiæ, beneficentiæ, gratitudo, honoris in parentes ac superiores præco, ut & divinarum laudum. Ibid. lem. 7. col. 1213.*

murderers,

murderers, backbiters, prodigals, misers, false witnesses, &c. He was a great preacher (continues he) of patience, charity, mercy, beneficence, gratitude, reverence to parents and superiors, and of the praises of God. The impostures, lyes, disguises, and inventions of MAHOMET in other respects, did not hinder the most zealous among the Protestant Historians, to give him a good character, where he thought him deserving it. Passing over Dr. PRIDEAUX, whose immortal work of *The Connection between the Old and New Testament* is the most learned, as it is the most entertaining, that has appear'd in Britain for a considerable time; and omitting several others who scorn'd to take advantage of Mahometanism, or rather to expose themselves, by countenancing the ill-invented stories of lying Fryars, and petulant but servil and shallow Chaplains: I shall only quote a passage out of MARACCI, who in another place (quoted also by RELAND before me) says that ¹¹ *this Superstition contains every thing that's found plausible or probable in the Christian Religion, and that seem conformable to the law or light of Nature.* This is enough, I think, to hold 'em for a sort of Christians, and not the worst sort neither. But the passage I specially mean is this. *I have* ¹² *been always of opinion, experience and reason persuading me, that if the Alcoran and the Gospel be propos'd to those nations [namely the Jews and the Gentiles] they will still imbrace the Alcoran and the Mahometan Superstition, sooner than the Gospel and the Christian*

¹¹ Habet nimirum haec Superstitio quicquid plausible ac probabile in Christiana Religione reperitur, &c. In prefat. ad Prodrum. Alcoran. The words wou'd take up too much room, and I have translated them as literally as cou'd be.

¹² Ego semper in ea opinione fui (experientiâ id mihi & ratione suadente) quod si Alcoranus & Evangelium, &c. Of the rest of the original words I say as in the foregoing citation.

Religion; unless that beforehand they be carefully instructed, as to the truth of the Gospel, and the lyes and frauds of the Alcoran. For at first sight those things contain'd in the Alcoran will appear more conformable to the dictates of corrupt nature, than what the Gospel proposes; as, that there is one God, omnipotent, omniscient, the creator and ruler of all things, and who has nothing in common with created beings; that fervent and frequent prayers be address'd to him; that alms be distributed to the poor, holy pilgrimages undergone, the body mortify'd with fastings, and justice observ'd; that modesty, beneficence, piety, and other virtues be practis'd; that wrong be done to no man, and that thefts, adulteries, murders, with other crimes be avoided; that worldly things be despis'd, as transitory, and good works perform'd: moreover, that all men are to give an account to God of their actions; that in heaven eternal happiness is prepar'd for the good, in the enjoyment of those things which human nature desires with the greatest ardor; that eternal punishment is prepar'd in hell for the wicked, with other the like things, which for certain occur every where in the Alcoran. But if a Heathen hears a Minister of the Gospel propose to him one God in three persons, God made man, a poor, crucify'd God, who was dead and bury'd, the Mystery of the Eucharist, the necessity of the Sacrament of Penance, marriage with one wife, the indissoluble knot of wedlock, a life join'd to perpetual affliction, doing good to one's enemies, the highest happiness consisting in things which neither eye saw, nor ear heard, nor enter'd into the heart of man; with such other things, that either surpass the conception of human understanding, or are most difficult, if not impossible, to the natural state or weakness of man, and that he compares them with the doctrines of the Alcoran, he will instantly reject those, and imbrace these. How well MARACCI has judg'd

I refer to every one's consideration: but I am persuaded he was no favorer of Mahometanism, against which he has strenuously written; as I myself declar'd, in terms than which I cou'd find no stronger, that *the Alcoran is the grossest of all Impostures*. Of this Dr. MANGEY, according to his usual fair dealing, takes no notice: but *thinks it not unseasonable to set forth the Mahometan sentiments in relation to the Christian Religion, that the world may see, what sort of Christianity is allow'd by NAZARENS*. Not the Christianity that allows this proceeding, no more than the Mahometan Christianity, I assure him. I am convinc'd by this time, that your Lordship will not expect I shou'd trouble my self or others with his account of the Mahometan sentiments, of which he knows as little, as he's unwilling to do them justice; who have as much right to fair usage, as the best Christians in the world.

Nazarens.

Page 20.

Page 43.

VI. NOR yet, my Lord, wou'd I take notice of what he says concerning the *Nazarens* and *Ebionites*, since he understands much less of this matter; were it not for the strange mistakes committed on this occasion, by one who has the opportunity of learning better things from your Lordship: tho, by his quality of Doctor, one wou'd think he shou'd by this time be able to teach others. His whole second chapter is one continu'd thread of shameful errors and prevarications. In the ninth chapter of my book I said, that *the Jewish converts to Christianity were term'd Nazarens from JESUS of Nazareth, and that it appears all the first Christians were so; since PAUL himself is, in the Acts of the Apostles, call'd a ringleader of the Heresy of the Nazarens*. To this Dr. MANGEY makes two exceptions: the one, that they were not so call'd at the beginning, nor

Page 16.

at any time but by their enemies; the other implies, that they were not so denominated from JESUS of *Nazareth*. To prove the first I produc'd the

Acts. 24. 5. place of the *Acts* just now quoted, by which it undeniably appears, that they were call'd *Nazarens*, whether by themselves or others, before

Ibid. 11. 26. they were term'd *Christians* at Antioch. That they were so call'd by themselves I quoted ¹³ EPIPHANIUS who expressly affirms it even of the Apostles, as the Doctor himself cannot deny; tho

Page 6. but a few lines before, he's positive *that no one writer of antiquity ever own'd the name of Nazaren*. EPIPHANIUS, to be sure, is not a writer of antiquity, for he liv'd so little a while since as the 4th century; and the Apostles, we all know, were later writers, since they liv'd but in the first century. Yet PAUL owns the name: for charg'd with being a ringleader of the heresy of the Nazarens,

Acts 24. 5. 14. he answer'd, *after the way they call Heresy, so worship I the God of my fathers*; that is, after the way of the Nazarens. By the by, a man of quite another character than the Doctor, as well for learning as for moderation, and who sees with his own eyes; gave a friend of mine at Tunbridge, that communicated them to me a good while ago, some manuscript Remarks on NAZARENUS.

MS. Page 6. Among other things, he thinks that my account seems to lead one to imagine that EPIPHANIUS deriv'd the name of *Jessicans* from JESUS, which, adds this worthy person, *he did not*: and then remarking that thole *Jesseans* were the *Esseans* of PHILO (who I agree with him were no Christians) he wou'd prove his assertion by showing, that EPIPHANIUS derives them from JESSE the father of DAVID. That he supposes so much is

certain : but tis as certain that he derives the name likewise from JESUS, which I shall rather think has escap'd the gentleman's diligence, than impute it to any wilful oversight. The words of EPIPHANIUS in the very same paragraph are, *twas* ¹⁴ *either therefore from the name of JESSE, or from that of JESUS our Lord, that they were call'd Jesseans.* To return to Dr. MANGEY; EPIPHANIUS affirms over again, that the first Christians did not onely give ¹⁵ themselves the name of *Nazarens*, but farther that they were so call'd by all ¹⁶ others. That this was so is clear from the *Scripture* it self, without troubling our heads about the Fathers. It was expressly prophes'd of JESUS (about which Dr. MANGEY is quite silent) that he shou'd be call'd a *Nazaren*, from the place of his abode ; which was no more a term of reproach, than the denominations that so many Philosophers, and other famous men, have in all ages obtain'd from their several countries. There was nothing more usual. *And he came* (says MATTHEW) *and dwelt in a city call'd Nazareth, that it might be fulfill'd which was spoken by the Prophets, he shall be call'd a Nazaren.* Wherefore he's call'd JESUS of *Nazareth* by his friends as well as by his foes, by himself as well as by the Devil. The multitude that was for him, no less than that which was against him, distinguish'd him by this title. So did they that went to apprehend him, so did the false witnesses against STEPHEN, and so did PONTIUS PILATE : but the same was also done by two of his own disciples walking with him to Emaus, by PHILIP

Mat. 2. 23.
& 21. 11.
Mar. 1. 24.
& 10. 47.
& 14. 67.
& 16. 6.
Luke 4.
34. & 18.
37. & 24.
19. John 1.
45. & 18.
5. 7. & 19.
19. Acts 1.
22. & 3. 6.
& 4. 10. &
6. 14. &
10. 38. &
22. 8. &
26. 9. &c.

14. Και ητοι τε Ιησσαι, ητοι εκ του ανουματος Ιησου των κυριου ημων επεκλησαν Ιησσαιοι, &c. Ibid. num. 4.

15. Ibid. num. 5.

16. Ibid. num. 6.

the Apostle, by PETER, and by PAUL. An Angel tells the women at the sepulchre, *ye seek JESUS of Nazareth*; and JESUS himself tells PAUL, *I am JESUS of Nazareth whom thou persecutest*. The texts to prove these particulars I have mark'd in the margin, according to the order of their places in the Evangelical writers: and Dr. MANGEY may, if he pleases, by the help of his *Concordance*, reduce them to their proper heads. By reason MATTHEW says, *it was spoken by the Prophets, that JESUS shall be call'd a Nazaren*, JEROM, as if the works of all the Prophets were entirely extant, would needs find this prophesy in the ¹⁷ *old Testament*, where no writer has the least mention of it. He thinks he sees it in the eleventh chapter of ISAIAH, as others in the 13th of Judges, both cited in the margin of our larger English Bibles. But the words in the two places are most different in sense, tho somewhat approaching in sound. That in ISAIAH is *Netzer*, a branch; and that in Judges is *Nazir* a separate person, spoken of SAMSON, who was indeed a Nazarite, whereas JESUS was none. But what are *Netzer* or *Nazir*, to JESUS's dwelling in the city of *Nazareth*? which MATTHEW expressly assigns as the reason of the designation *Nazaren*, while nothing like such a reason appears in any Prophet of the *old Testament*. Tho JEROM, in the place above cited, is angry with those who produce such texts out of apocry-

נָזִיר
נָזִיר

17. In Evangelis & apostolis multa de veteri Testamento legimus quae in nostris codicibus non habentur, ut est illud, ex Aegypto vocavi filium meum [Mat. 2. 15.] et quoniam Nazaraeus vocabitur [Ibid. 2. 23.] — Interrogemus ergo eos, ubi haec scripta sint? et cum dicere non potuerint, de libris Hebraicis proferamus. Primum testimonium est in OSEE [11. 1.] Secundum in ESAIA [11. 1.] &c. — In Praefat. ad Pentateuch. Videatur idem de eodem in lib. 4. Commentar. in Esai. 11. 2.

phal books, which ORIGEN has often done ; yet in other places he admits the same plea ¹⁸ himself, for he was a perfect ambidexter, and at times wou'd say any thing. As JESUS therefore was call'd JESUS the Nazaren, or of the city of Nazareth ; so his followers from him were also call'd Nazarens, both by themselves and others. 'Tis evident that the name was more antient than PAUL's persecution of the Christians : for he Acts 26. 9. says, that *he verily thought with himself, he ought to do many things contrary to the name of JESUS of Nazareth* ; that is, against those call'd after this name, Nazarens, as the thing it self shows, and as the bare name signify'd no more than to detect the persons. The proverbial speech to which the Doctor alludes, to prove that they were reproachfully call'd Nazarens by their enemies, and which was us'd by NATHANAEL asking Philip, *can any good thing come out of Nazareth?* John 1. 46. shows he has laid more stress on some ignorant Commentators of the Gospel of JOHN, than on the words of the Gospel it self. If NATHANAEL had meant *any good thing* in the strict sense of the words, his question must have been as ignorant as impertinent ; since abundance of good things came from thence, and that PHILIP himself was a Galilean. But his true meaning is explain'd a little lower in the same Gospel, where some said, *shall CHRIST come out of Galilee?* which Ibid. 7. 41. demand was founded on a mistaken notion they

18. Quærat aliquis quisnam sit iste qui dicat, surge qui dormis et exsurge a mortuis, aut cujus testimonio sit abusus PAULUS? Et quidem qui simplici responsione contentus est, dicet in reconditis cum prophetis, et his quæ vocantur apocrypha, hæc lecta in medium protulisse ; sicut in aliis quoque illum fecisse, manifestum est : non quòd Apocrypha comprobaret, sed quemodo et Arati, et Epimenidis, et Menandri versibus sit abusus ad ea quæ voluerat. Ad Ephes. 5. 14.

- Ibid. ver. 52. had, that *out of Galilee shou'd arise no propket*. They doubted therfore that JESUS was not the *Messias*; because they, being ignorant of the place of his birth, thought from that of his abode that he was a Galilean: not out of any contemt, as the Doctor pleasantly fancies, but for the plain reason there given, *shall CHRIST come out of Galilee? hath not the Scripture said, that CHRIST cometh out of the seed of DAVID, and out of the town of BETHLEHEM, where DAVID was?* To them that read the *Bible* with attention, this is the clearest case in the world; and therefore I will not, as having solv'd some extraordinary difficulty, cry out to the Doctor,

Σὺ δὲ μοι, φίλε, κυδὸς οπαῖζε.

- Mat. 2. 23. To cut the matter short, *Nazaren* from the City of Nazareth, and *Nazarite* from separation or special dedication, are of very different origin; and, however approaching somwhat in sound, yet are differently ¹⁹ spelt. The middle radical letter of the first is *z*, or ours but not the German *z*; and that of the last is *s*, *ts*. The Apostle MATTHEW

1. 5. 19. Our English translators of the *Bible* have inaccurately render'd both the letters *Sajin* and *Tzade* by *Z*, which the French and we pronounce otherwise than the Italians and the Germans. The same Translators have confounded the aspirate letters *He*, *Heb*, *Caph*: all which either they express by *h*, properly answering to the first; or they sometimes quite omit the aspiration, as we cou'd show by many examples. The reason is, because we have not that Hebrew sound in our Language, which the Dutch affix to *ch* and the Greeks to their *χ*. On this occasion the reader is to note, that it is indifferent whether he says MOHAMMED or MUHAMMED, because the Arabic *Damma* is sometimes pronounc'd as an obscure *o*, and sometimes as the Italian *u*, the Grec *ou*, or our *oo*: but Use, the absolute sovereign of words (to whose pleasure I submit in this as in other names) has made MAHOMET current in these parts of the World
- TheGreeks write Μα-
χομεδ,
Μαχου-
μεδ, Μα-
αμμεδ,
Μυαυ-
μεδ, &c.

is on my side, and your Lordship's Chaplain (with what abettors I value not) is on the other side.
Coelum tonat, taceant ranae.

VII. HAVING thus shown that it was prophes'd of CHRIST *he shou'd be call'd a Nazaren*, and the reason of this appellation, as well as that it was neither originally a mark of contempt, and that it no way alluded to *Netzer* or the *Branch* in ISAIAH; I need not be at any great pains now to make out against Dr. MANGEY, that *Nazaren* was not from *Nazir*, a *Nazarite*, or separate Person: for, in the first place, JESUS was no Nazarite, having drunk Wine, to allege no more of the conditions requir'd in the 6th of *Numbers*; and in second place, the true reason is given by MATTHEW, from his dwelling in the city of Nazareth. Yet so fond is the Doctor of his criticism against the express words of *Scripture*, that he quotes ²⁰ HESYCHIUS and ²¹ PHAVORINUS, who both of 'em visibly describe the *Old Testament* Nazarites, without any regard to the *New Testament* Nazarens; and his third Lexicographer ²² SUIDAS patly distinguishes the two words, making *Nazaren* to be from *Nazareth of Galilee*, and *Nazarite* to be *one separated and dedicated to God*. These last are also the words of the just nam'd PHAVORINUS and HESYCHIUS: onely that the first, following the conceit of several who judg'd of older times by their own, stiles ^{So does} the Nazarites *Monks*, as others ridiculously do ^{SUIDAS}.

20. Ναζιραιῶ [which is nothing to Ναζωραιῶ or Ναζαρηνῶ] ὁ θεὸς κεχωρισμένῳ καὶ ἀφιερωμένῳ.

21. Ναζηραιῶ μοναχῶ, ἡγιασμένῳ καὶ ἀφιερωμένῳ τῷ θεῷ.

22. Ναζαρηνῶ ἀπὸ Ναζαρέτ τῆς Γαλιλαίας. Ναζηραιῶ ὁ θεὸς κεχωρισμένῳ καὶ ἀφιερωμένῳ. To the same purpose are many other passages I cou'd produce.

ELIJAH and ELISHA. Certainly, my Lord, it will not be for the honor of the Tippet and Scarf, that a Doctor and withal a Bishop's Chaplain shou'd know so little of the *Bible* and Ecclesiastical Antiquity. I cannot as much as charge him with profiting even by *Lexicons*, however he may be bewilder'd by words of a near sound in *Indexes*. Many such we know there are, and that they are sometimes confounded, or taken for one another. Some write them as near to their native stock as they can, others according to the analogy of the language in which they write themselves, and many (without being so nice) use either manner indifferently; which is not altogether blameworthy, provided they take care to distinguish their subject, when there is a difference. Of this sort are ²³ *Esseans* and *Essenes*, which are two ways of expressing the same thing. And, to come nearer home, of the same sort are ²⁴ *Nazaren*, *Nazarean*, *Natzarean*; and *Nazarite* or *Nazirite*, and so on. Without controversy these are not seldom confounded, and even by the same men, which I am farr from approving, tho I can bear with it. As for my self, I think it indifferent which of the two words *Nazarean* or *Nazaren* any shall use, when speaking of the person of *JESUS of Nazareth*, or of the persons denominated from him; the first word being to be found in *MATTHEW*, and the second in *MARK*: and therefore I have constantly written *Nazaren*, as not onely equally authorized by the *Gospel* (tho ascrib'd by Dr. MANGEY to the negligence of transcribers) but also as much more us'd by the most accurate Ecclesiastical writers in Latin.

23. Esseni et Essaci, Εσσηαιοι.

24. Ναζωραιῶν, Ναζαρηνῶν, Νατζαρηῶν, Nazareus, Nazarenus; Ναζαραῖος, Ναζιραῖος, Naziraeus, Nazarita. SUIDAS, who distinguishes well at the beginning, does afterwards fall into the confusion, of which I was speaking.

The *Old Testament* Nazarites or Nazirites ought never to be confounded with the *New Testament* Nazarens; this being a further reason why I have always us'd the last word instead of *Nazarean*, which others may prefer if they please, it being proper enough. Your Lordship will readily believe that I shall procede as I have begun, notwithstanding the censure of your Chaplain, that *I have blunder'd in my very title, since, if I wou'd* Page 9.
have denominat'd my book from the sect I defend, I shou'd have call'd it Nazaraeus and not Nazarenus. Of the same acumen and fairness is his saying, *NAZARENUS was sensible, that it wou'd not be* Page 55.
for the honor of his sect to be call'd from any single person, since that alone is a mark of some defection from the truth. Is it so? I protest I never knew this before, and shou'd now be sorry it were true. Why? is not the name of *Christian* from a single person? unless the Doctor distinguishes between a man's name and his surname, or between these and his title or office, which are all so many designations of a single person. But I admire how such a crotchet came into his head, for I dreamt of nothing like this; besides that for certain my sect is call'd from a single person, even *JESUS of Nazareth*, as in these very words I declar'd in *NA-* Page 26.
ZARENUS. It was not therefore the no less imaginary than fantastical fear of a single author, that made me say the *Nazarens* were also call'd *Ebionites* from their poverty; but because they said so of themselves, whom I believe before their ene- Vide Naza-
mies, the ridiculous coiners of *EBION*: and more- ren. pag.
over, because I brought substantial vouchers for 26, 27, 28,
the same thing, which indeed speaks sufficiently 29.
for it self. However, my Lord, *he must tell me* Page 57.
[and he has my free leave] *that EBION, with*

which I have adorn'd my margin, is not in the Syriac copy [and did I say it was, or will he say that copy is as old as the time of the Apostles?] nor in the Hebrew text of MUNSTER [admirable! a translation made t'other day] nor doth it any where signify Evangelical Poverty. It certainly signifies

Acts 2. 44,
45. & 4.
34. 35. &c.

the Poverty under which they labor'd, beggary, or the want of their goods, which they laid at the Apostles feet; for which reason they were not ashamed of this name, as²⁶ EPIPHANIUS relates. I cou'd adorn my margin with seven other Hebrew words for *Poor* out of the common *Lexicons*, and in my text shew that one of them signifies a poorness of mind, that is neither evangelical nor philosophical; without needing to point out an example of it, after the drudgery I have now been oblig'd to undergo in weighing of words and measuring of syllables. The Doctor will in time see my margins very much adorn'd with Hebrew, and so have an occasion to detect my ignorance in Oriental Learning, since he cannot do it in Irish. I am amaz'd he sticks at this language, since undoubtedly he has undertaken a task infinitely more difficult to perform, than Irish is to learn. *There was not a doctrine (says he) receiv'd by the whole Church, during the three first centuries, that I will not take upon me to defend.* Ay marry! here's a Master of defence able to play at theological quarterstaff, with any wight that dares enter the lists with him! I do not wonder therefore that a Champion of such redoubted prowess (who yet will be humbly ask'd what was the whole Church, how many witnesses are requisite to shew her uniform belief, and what were the doctrines she universally believ'd? some of which, may notwith-

Page 124.

²⁶ Ubi supra.

standing be prov'd false) I do not wonder, I say, he shou'd promise, that *whenever I am so good as my word as to print my History of the sacred Canon, I shall have him once more for my Adversary.* But since one good turn requires another, I promise him that he shall never have me for his, for which I leave him to assign what cause he pleases. I have learnt from the same Sage to whom I own'd my obligations once before, *not ²⁷ to be more afraid of the threats of fools, than of the blows of the sick.* But tho I shall never enter into argument with him, I hold my self bound at any time to detect his fallacies for more reasons than your Lordship, whose hours are better imploy'd, cares to hear.

VIII. AS for what concerns the summary account I gave of *the antient Irish Christianity before the Papal Corruptions and Usurpations*, tis worthy observation, that I quoted no other but Latin or English writers to prove it; whereas he declines animadverting on that part, under pretence of not understanding *the Irish language and customs*: leaving me elsewhere to spend my critical conjectures upon Irish, where I may hope few will examine me. ^{Ibid.} ^{Work, p. 57.} Notwithstanding his contemptible content, so I shall: and in such a manner, I hope, that the ablest Critics will not onely think my time well spent; but thank me withall, be their nations or religions ever so different. At least it shall be my indeavour to obtain their pardon, if I merit not their applause: since they'll not onely be no less capable judges of my performance (which, relating to Irish, may seem a riddle to the Doctor) than of my diligence and candor in a work of uni-

²⁷ Οὐτ' ἀρρωστὸ πλῆγῃν, οὐτ' ἀνοήτου ἀπειλὴν δεῖ εὐλαβεῖσθαι. Demophil. Similitud.

Letter 76,
speaking
of the Pro-
testants of
France.

versal benefit. In the mean time, if he thinks the Protestant interest, or in other words, liberty of thinking, to be any thing; which as father PAUL honestly said, *is the onely good thing in this world*: he ought no more to speak disparagingly of the Irish nation, than to judge of the first Irish Christians by those that succeeded in after ages. BARONIUS intending to affront, does that real honor to the Irish and Albanian Scots (for both these held the same doctrines and had the same Doctors) as to assert, that in the 8th century *they sow'd those tares, with which the northern countries are overspread in our time*: which, in other words not very different, is to say, that *they laid the foundation of the northern Heresy*. And what, pray, were those tares, or points of Heresy that they disseminated? The principal was, to use his own words, *that ²⁸ ill-boding and hitherto unknown monstrous doctrine, that Confession of sins was not to be made to the Priest, but to God alone*. He produces the Letter of ALCUIN to the Scots on this occasion (if it be ALCUIN'S) which was publish'd by CANISIUS a little ²⁹ before. But BARONIUS was either grossly mistaken, or spoke against his own conscience, when he said this doctrine was hitherto unknown; whereas a very little time before, this might be most truly said of his special

28 Inter Scotos disseminari coepta Zizania, quae nostro seculo boreales ptvincias occuparunt. *Ad annum 778. num. 23.*

29 Infaustum hactenus inauditumque ostentum, Confessionem peccatorum non esse faciendam Sacerdoti, sed Deo tantum. *Ibid.*

30 The words of the Letter to this purpose, after commending the innocent lives of the Scotch brethren and fathers, are: dicitur verò neminem ex Laicis suam velle confessionem Sacerdotibus dare; quos a Deo Christo, eum sanctis Apostolis, ligandi solvendiue potestatem accepisse credimus — Deo vis, o homo, confiteri, quem nolens volens latere non possis; ecclesiae Christi, in qua peccasti, satisfacere negligis — Forte si Deum latere, sicut hominem, potuisses, nec Deo plusquam homini confiteri voluisses. *Epist. 26.*

and

and auricular Confession in order to penance and the authoritative Absolution of a single Priest. Besides those other Irish holy men, whom I mention'd in the second part of NAZARENUS, and who converted to Christianity so great a share of Britain, of upper and lower Germany, with other countries; tis incontestably own'd by the Learned, that SEDULIUS the younger, SAMSON, VIRGIL, and CLAUDIUS CLEMENS, with his companion and assistant ADELBERT, a Frenchman bred in Ireland, were the most noted witnesses of truth, and the most strenuous opposers of error, in that age: openly decrying the abuses which had already got footing, as well as those which were daily creeping in. They specially signaliz'd themselves against the usurp'd authority and tyranny of the Roman See, the superstitious feasts and fasts ordain'd by it, the ignorance and leudness of the priests and friars, vain traditions, the worship of images, saints, or angels, prayers for the dead and purgatory, the celibacy of the clergy, honoring of reliques, going on pilgrimages, and the like. On the other hand, they highly recommended the reading of the *Scriptures*, as the onely sure antidote against all these fictions and abuses: and tho they were not quite free, or durst not declare themselves to be so, from the infection of that dark and dismal time; yet, by many of their enemies own confession, they were the most learned and pious that liv'd in it. Much lower than this, in the 14th century, we had among many others RICHARD FITZ-RALPH, a native of Dundalk where his anniversary is still observ'd, some time Chancellor of Oxford, Dean of Litchfield, and finally Archbishop of Armagh. He was Scholar to the famous JOHN BACONTHORPE, stil'd *the resolute Doctor*, and contemporary with the glorious WICLIF, before whose pub-

publication of the *Bible* in English, he got the same translated into Irish. He was grievously persecuted by the Fryars, to whose impostures he was a mortal enemy, and openly declar'd against their impudence, luxury, idleness, craft, and superstitions, before the Pope and his Cardinals at Avignon, in the year 1357. Many other such instances I cou'd produce; were it as necessary for your Lordship as your Chaplain, to show that the antient Irish ought not to be indiscriminately abus'd, by any who has a real value for Liberty civil or religious.

The Doctor
says for be-
ing a kind
of Puritans.
page 10.

IX. IF this be a digression, tis one of the most excusable on several accounts, and particularly because it is not so long as to make us lose sight of the subject we had last in hand; I mean the Christians being first call'd by themselves and all others *Nazarens*, from *JESUS of Nazareth* their founder: but not out of any contempt at the beginning, tho afterwards this denomination became a mark of reproach, when the Jewish Christians were thrust out of the Church, and pronounc'd Heretics by the Gentile converts; who, two or three excepted, were wholly ignorant of the Hebrew original, and very slighty vers'd in the Translations of the *Bible*. I shall now quit this subject, onely beg leave to remark to your Lordship, that the name *Christian*, wherein I glory no less than in that now more particular one of *Nazaren*, has not wanted orthodox Doctors to pervert the occasion of it. What we know for certain is, that *the Disciples were first so call'd at Antioch*: but whether by themselves or others, by friends or foes, is uncertain; tho some think it was by the latter, from the words of *TACITUS*, which are ambiguous were he a judge of the fact, that

AG. 11. 26.

that ³¹ being odious for their crimes, the vulgar call'd them Christians. But nothing is surer, than that the account of CYRIL of Jerusalem is absolutely false. JESUS CHRIST (says ³² he) being the son of God, has vouchsaf'd to call us Christians. But some body will say, the name of Christians is new, nor has it been in use heretofore: and things newly done are frequently contradicted, for their very novelty-sake. The Prophet *Isa. 65. 15,* prevented this objection, saying, to those that serve me will be given a new name, which shall be blessed on the earth. *16. but miserably perverted, as the Fathers are wont to do.* Let us ask of the Jews, do ye serve the Lord or not? Show therefore your new name: for you are call'd Jews and Israelites by MOSES and by the other Prophets, both after the return from Babylon and to this day. Where then is your new name? But we, after that we serve the Lord, have a new name; new indeed, but which will be blessed on the earth. This name comprehends the whole world: for that of the Jews extends onely to a certain country, but the Christians to the ends of the earth, seeing the name of the onely begotten son of God is preach'd. Sure the Jews must have been extremely ignorant or wilfully blind, that cou'd resist the evidence of such admirable reasoning, and such profound understanding of the Scriptures, from Patriarch CYRIL. What is there left for us to do in this case? That CHRIST himself gave his followers the name of *Christians*, we are told by CYRIL; and that they were first so call'd at Antioch long after his death, we are told by LUKE. *Utrum horum?* If you believe the last, you contradict an Apostle; if you believe the first you contradict a Bishop, which is not seldom the

³¹ Quos, per flagitia invidiosos, vulgus Christianos appellabat. *Anal. 15. cap. 44.*

³² Ἰησοῦς δὲ Χριστός, Θεοῦ υἱὸς ὢν, Χριστιανούς καλεῖται αὐτοὺς κατ' ἑξῆς. ἀλλ' ἐρεταις, &c. *Cateches. 10. pag. 89. Edit. Par.*

most dangerous of the two. But lest CYRIL might stand alone, as he does not, in giving a wrong account of the name *Christians*; there were afterwards certain Canons forg'd, pretended to have been decreed in the second Council of ³³ Antioch (for if but two or three Apostles, or a few more Christians, met on any special occasion, they must presently be transform'd into a Council) the first wherof ordains, *that such as believe in the Lord JESUS, who were by those of his time call'd Galileans, shou'd for the future be call'd Christians.* To much the same purpose ³⁴ SUIDAS; who (tho the Doctor over-looks it) makes *Nazaraeus* and *Nazarenus* to be the very ³⁵ same, as well as the *New Testament*, and *Jerom* in his Version of it, with many others: so farr is *Nazarenus* from being a blunder of transcribers, as we sufficiently made out before. Very readily granting to Dr. MANGEY (who is not concern'd in the passage of CYRIL, unless he makes himself so) that the Christians were nicknam'd by their ignorant enemies *Galileans*, I leave to him the defence of those several Apostolical Synods, that are enumerated by the antients. I pass over abundance of things that he most wrongfully imputes to me, but cannot overlook the malicious turn he gives to one of my Queries for Information to travellers, the greatest marks of candor and exactness I cou'd possibly give. The second Querie is this. *Since we find*

³³ TURRIAN. pro Canon. Apostol. lib. 1. cap. 25. & alii plurimi.

³⁴ Ἰστέον δὲ, ὅτι, ἐπὶ Κλαυδίου βασιλεως Ρωμης, Πιτρου του αποστολου χειροτονησαν ὁ Εὐοδιον ἐν Ἀντιοχεια, μελινω-μαδησαν οἱ παλαι λεγομενοι Ναζηραιοι ἢ Γαλιλαιοι, χειρι-ανοι. In voce Ναζηραιῶ.

³⁵ Ναζωραιῶ, ὁ ἀπο της Ναζαρετ, ὡς ἡ Ναζαρηνῶ. In voce Ναζωραιῶ.

that the Mahometans charge our Gospels with corruption and alteration in many things, and particularly that MAHOMET's name was raz'd out of them, as likewise out of the Pentateuch and the Psalms; you are to inquire of the most learned, judicious, and candid among them, how they can prove such expunctions or interpolations, if they have no authentic copies to confront with ours? or, in case they pretend to have such copies, you are further to inquire, what use they make of 'em? whether any part of their Gospel be ever read in their Moschs? or whether it is to be perus'd onely by the Clergy and the learned? That the Mahometans charge our Gospels with those alterations, is on all hands undeniable: and who sees not, that the design of my Query was to know, whether the Gospel attributed to BARNABAS or any other (for RELAND says they have one in ³⁶ Arabic and Spanish) be of any public authority among them; and to have such books brought into the hands of the curious, as I did that of BARNABAS? None but Dr. MANGHEY is capable to suppose, that I cou'd think any other copies of the Gospel, except Mahometan forgeries, cou'd contain MAHOMET's name. But without restraining my inquiry, as I carefully did my self, to Mahometan Countries, he says in the most general terms: *and that he may not come* Page 34. *behind any Mussulman of them all in their daring stupid conjectures, he proposeth it as a grave Querie for travellers; whether any copies of the holy Scriptures, with MAHOMET's name in them, can be found to confront with ours!* If such a vile practice meets with no discouragement, your Lordship knows of whom I cannot possibly have a good opinion: and that

³⁶ Evangelium aliquod apud ipsos est, quod ex scriptis bonis & malis conflatum Arabicè & Hispanicè manuscriptum extat. *De Reliq. Mahomed.* lib. 1. pag. 23. in nota b.

Page 93.

Nazaren.
P. 53.

Page 19.

I cannot help believing it is not the Church of Rome alone, that judges no faith ought be observ'd towards Heretics. Another foul misrepresentation (unless it be meritorious to use some men at such a rate) is, that *I approve the Sabbatharians, for the same reason that I do all persons and things, that are against the Establishment*: whereas I onely accounted for and excus'd their scruple, but shew'd at the same time that none of the Gentile Christians was bound to the observation of the Jewish Sabbath, that the practice of the Jewish Christians was ignorantly drawn by some of those of the Gentile stock into the nature of a precept, or as an example of indispensable imitation; that the present Sabbatharians were wrong in the application of what the Jewish Christians and some of the mislead Gentile Christians did, with the rest that may be read in my book, to which I refer your Lordship. This, one wou'd think, is not approving, but correcting and converting; and I fancy I cou'd produce more Seventh-day Sabbath-men convinc'd by my reasoning, than your Chaplain can Arians or Socinians reduc'd to orthodoxy by his *Plain notions*. I forbear making a collection of several passages where he affects to talk as nostrums, of things long since made public by the Learned, of which I shall onely give two examples. He *suspects the latter part of the Epistle of BARNABAS, to be a part of that antient Doctrine, scatter'd thro' out the Apostolical Constitutions*. But the famous DODWELL declar'd this suspicion many years ago, and it has been since transcrib'd, tho candidly under his name, by the no less famous ³³ FABRICIUS, not to speak of Dr. GRABE. Thus again

he vehemently suspects, that the prohibition of things Page 103.
strangl'd does not belong to the text: whereas the
 learned CURCELLEUS (whom he has transcrib'd
 without naming him) did labor this point above
 half a century since, and, towards the very be-
 ginning of the chapter about it, says; that he *deser-*
vedly ³⁸ *suspects this clause, being not onely not ac-*
knowledg'd by many antient Fathers, but even directly
rejected as supposititious or foisted. I shall not in
 this place enter into the merits of this cause, but
 I am persuaded, that if I us'd no more forma-
 lity about questioning the genuineness of a passage
 in the text; it wou'd be loudly proclaim'd, that
 no *Scripture* was to stand in the way of my whim-
 fies. I observ'd before one of the Doctor's fine
 Criticisms about the origin of the word *Nazaren*,
 widely different from the reason given for it
 by MATTHEW. His making me say *Periclete* for
Paraclete (which I never did, but that the Ma-
 hometans pretended *Periclyte* shou'd be read in-
 stead of *Paraclete*) and then charging me with
 want of skill in Greec, is of a piece with the rest of
 his conduct. At his frequent nibbling and falsifying
 of this sort elsewhere, I scorn to stop; as all judi-
 cious readers laugh at his thraſonic and positive
 way of writing, supported by* nothing but the
 want of knowing facts, or the fancy that others
 will not examine them.

πεικλυ-
 το & non
 περικλη-
 το, Na-
 zaren. p. 13.

X. AS no justice is to be done to my self, so
 it seems I must do none to others, or they at least
 ought not to receive it at my hands. We shou'd
 be at a fine pass indeed if certain envious and prag-
 matical creatures, whose notions are as narrow as

³⁸ Sed meritò nobis suspecta est, cum a multis antiquis Patribus
 non agnoscat, imò tanquam supposita disertè rejiciatur. *Diatriba*
de usu sanguinis, cap. 11, pag. 131.

their love of riches and power insatiable, shou'd, like the fryars abroad, prescribe to us what conduct to observe; and make us afraid to whom we talk, or who shou'd talk to us. God be prais'd, my Lord, it is not come to that yet. For my own part, I abhor, I disdain so pitiful and servil a disposition. I shall with the utmost alacrity imbrace every occasion of rendring their due to all sorts of men, be their country or party what you please; and will acknowledge what is valuable in my worst enemies, as well as in my best friends. Nevertheless your Chaplain is much displeas'd that the Lord Bishop of BANGOR shou'd be commended by me, and wou'd have his Lordship do somthing to renounce my favors and compliments, as he calls them. I did indeed upon a natural occasion, in the Preface to NAZARENUS, from my heart extoll his Lordship's undaunted courage, in nobly supporting the cause of Mankind, of Christianity, of the Reformation, and of the Laity, against the enemies of them all; notwithstanding the malicious, scurrilous, and barbarous treatment with which he met for so doing. For these reasons I profess to reverence him in the profoundest manner, tho absolutely unknown to him, as I am so still; and tho we shou'd differ in many things, as I am certain we do: uniformity of sentiments in all things not being thought by me either desirable or expedient, let alone that it is impossible. * My good opinion of this excellent Prelate, who continues to be so rancourously abus'd by the enemies of the Protestant Religion and the Royal family, is still the same; nor shou'd I alter it, had he the weakness to reject my just praises: for many brave men have been perfectly run down before now by clamor and calumny, and forc'd wretchedly to succumb before the most worthless of mortals. But this I augurate will
never

Page 4.

Page 24.

never be his Lordship's case, that first Principle of the Reformation which he maintains daily getting ground, even by the opposition made to it: and he in the prosecution of it, showing himself to be sway'd by none of those sordid aims, which might slacken his ardor; or by such mean politics, as wou'd be sure to sully his fame. Nor is he the onely one among our present Bishops for whose piety and learning I have, on many occasions, testify'd my unfeign'd respect. What if I differ from their Lordships in some speculative points of a dubious or difficult nature? I sincerely agree with them in the life of Christianity, in mutual charity, in the toleration of tender consciences, in the love of knowledge, the hatred of superstition, and the preservation of civil liberty. 'Tis doubtless more unwarrantable in my adversaries to differ from them about these eternal truths, than for me to differ from them about any disputable institutions, were they in the right, and I happen to be ever so much in the wrong. Their disapproving me in some points, wou'd never induce me to disown what I approv'd in them. Some of the best friends I have in the world differ from me in many things, which hinders them not from loving and esteeming me (which affections are reciprocal) on the account of other things, more important to life and society. I frankly declar'd in NAZARENUS, that I convers'd with men of all nations and religions; provided they were masters of any art, science, or other good quality, by which I might reap benefit or entertainment. They, who teach their followers to avoid any, except men of flagitious lives, are afraid their ignorance or their deceit may be discover'd. But let it be owing to what motive you will, it cannot proceed from the knowledge of truth, which

Pref. p. 23,
24.

must be proof against all the attacks of error ; nor yet from the love of truth, which leads to inquiry, and consequently to promiscuous communication. How little this social virtue is practis'd needs not be told, since men of different opinions in religion are taught to shun each other, as if it were a fundamental article of their faith. It becomes at least as habitual as if it were so. I cou'd never admire CONRAD RITTERSHUSIUS after reading the following passage, where, speaking of AUSONIUS, *I particularly wonder, says,*³⁹ *he, that a Christian man shou'd cultivate a friendship (and no vulgar one, but so intimate as for the one to call the other father) with SYMMACHUS, a most bitter enemy to this profession : for that such he was, appears from his own Address to the Emperors ; and from the answers made to it by PRUDENTIUS and AMBROSE. This, I repeat it, is to me a wonder : for what agreement can there be in other things between those, who disagree in the very foundation, which is the true Religion ? But in friendship there is requir'd a perfect agreement, as well in things divine as human. Pray, who has a right to require such a chimera, such an impossibility ? and as for your question, I answer, that men who differ about the true Religion, may very well agree and receive mutual improvement in all things besides : otherwise the true Religion must be the foundation of agreement in critical*

³⁹ Miror et illud, potuisse virum Christianum cum insensissimò hujus nominis hoste SYMMACHO (talem enim illum fuisse constat ex ipsius relatione ad Augg. et PRUDENTII atque AMBROSII ad eam responsione) amicitiam colere, nec eam vulgarem, sed intimam adeo ut alter alterum patrem indigaret. Mirum hoc, inquam. mihi: nam quae ceteris de rebus consensus esse potest ? ubi in fundamento ipso, quod est vera religio, aliqui dissentiant. In amicitia autem rerum divinarum et humanarum consensus summa requiritur. *In Epist. ad SOLOM. PANTHERUM.*

learning, poetry, painting, mechanics, and what not. If the philosophers and travellers of antiquity had made the tenets of their peculiar sects, or of the religions of their country, the tests of intercourse and endearment wherever they dwelt or travell'd; we had been ignorant at this time of a thousand things, no less useful than ornamental to life, which they learnt by a free and friendly communication with all men.

XI. The opposite conduct renders many, who wou'd pass for men of letters, both savage and senseless Misanthropes. I remember Mr. WORTON, whom I do not reckon in this number, speaking of SPINOSA, has this ⁴⁰ passage, which per- Page 47.
 haps he wou'd not at present justify. Mr. TOLAND affects to treat him tenderly, and says, he thinks all men ought to be so treated in matters of mere speculation, leaving their immoral actions (if they be guilty of any) to the care of the law, and the animadversion of the magistrate. So I think still, notwithstanding I differ from SPINOSA in the very ground-work of his Philosophy, and that I was at that same time confuting him. I can commend the man in many things, whom in other things I leave or oppose: nor is there any procedure that exposes writers to more ridiculous extravagancies, than thinking themselves oblig'd to answer every thing he advances, from whom they differ in any one thing. Had Mr. WORTON made this reflection, he wou'd not think it inconsistent, that I call SPINOSA a great man, yet say his system of matter without motion is indigested and unphilosophical. Tis so for certain, as I have unanswerably demonstrated to one Let. to EUSEB. Page 47.

⁴⁰ Letter to EUSEBIA, occasioned by Mr. TOLAND's Letters to SERENA.

Page 73.

of his best friends: and yet SPINOSA was for all that a great and a good man in many respects, as may not onely be seen by his works; but also by the *Account of his Life* since that time publish'd by COLERUS, a Lutheran minister, tho as contrary to some of his sentiments as any man breathing. This same spirit of thoro-stitch opposition led Mr. WOTTON to discover a mystery, of which I little dreamt, in my addressing three *Letters* to SERENA, a Lady the most accomplish'd then in the world. *It is probable he look'd for an easy prey, says he, when he directed his three first letters to a woman. If indeed your sex shou'd enter into the irreligious notions, which now prevail too much among men, the next generation wou'd be irrecoverably lost: so that I wonder not, to see the Ladies address to in books of this sort. When they are prevail'd with, the work is done. But, God be thanked, Religion keeps up its authority in a great measure with your sex still, and God grant it may ever do so.* Forbearing all other remarks on these lines, I beg your Lordship to observe, that Religion is here, by a Divine of the Church of England, made to subsist only by the women; and that, without their influence, it wou'd, for all the men, be irrecoverably lost even in the next generation. I am as much ashamed and concern'd, my Lord, for this singular passage, as if it had been penn'd by my self, or on my behalf; considering what is proverbially meant in every bodies mouth, by the *devout female sex*. The women have been in all ages noted for supporting SUPERSTITION, grounded on fanciful, gaudy, timorous, and weak notions of the superintending powers; which therefore ought to be ever carefully distinguish'd from RELIGION, grounded on the clearest ideas of God, and the strongest reasonings about his goodness, power, and providence.

dence. In the mean time I shall help my friend to a couple of eminent writers, whose authority he may use against me if he pleases. The one's a Heathen, the other a Christian. *Tis a thing universally taken for granted*, says ⁴¹ STRABO, *that women are the ringleaders of Superstition; they teaze their husbands into all sorts of worship of the Gods, into the observation of feasts and fasts: but tis a rare thing that any man, leading a single life, is found to be such a person.* For all my interest in the Batchelors, and my respect for the Ladies, I am sorry the Zeal of the women shou'd for the most part appear the very same in Turkey as in Christendom, among the Heathens as among the Jews. But not to forget the other writer, *when the Priests come into a family*, ⁴² says Mr. SELDEN, *they do as a man that wou'd fire a house. He does not put fire to the brickwall, but thrusts it into the thatch. They work upon the women, and let the men alone.* HIPPOCRATES, a greater man than either of them, attributes this proneness of the women to Superstition ⁴³ *to their very nature, as being of a more weak and fearful disposition than the men.* How true this may be I will not inquire, especially when they are *filly women* ^{2 Tim. 3. 6, 7.} *laden with sins, led away with diverse lusts, ever learning, and never able to come to the knowlege of the truth*, to use the Apostle PAUL's expressions. Yet doubtless their excesses of this kind, and their being so easy a prey to designing Priests, is as

⁴¹ Ἀπαντες γὰρ τῆς Δεισιδαιμονίας ἀρχηγούς οἰοῦνται τὰς γυναῖκας; αὗται δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἀνδρας προκαλοῦνται πρὸς τὰς ἐπιπλεον θρησκείας τῶν θεῶν, καὶ ἑορτὰς καὶ πορνείας μὲν; σπαρίον δ' εἰ τις ἀνὴρ. Καθ' αὐτὸν ζῶν, εὐεσκήται τοιοῦτος. lib. 7. pag. 456. edit. Amst.

⁴² In his Table-talk, page 105. edit. Lond. 1716.

⁴³ Ἀδυμωτέρη γὰρ καὶ ὀλιγοψυχωτέρη φύσις ἢ γυναῖκαί. Περὶ παρ' ἑαυτῶν, cap. 1.

much owing to education as to nature, if not more; as I show'd in the Preface to those *Letters to SERENA*, which gave Mr. WOTTON an opportunity of complimenting the women at the expense of his own order. But what will not a man say, who's resolv'd to throw whatever he meets in his way at his adversary? without considering, that, instead of hurting the other, it may defile or burn his own fingers. Thus Mr. WOTTON in his *Letter to EUSEBIA*, when

Page 15. *Mr. TOLAND speaks of bugbears, and elves, and genii, and such like cant; he means the doctrines of JESUS CHRIST God and Man, of three persons in the Trinity, of the Redemption wrought by our blessed Saviour upon the Cross, of heaven and hell, of good and evil spirits.* A man must be planet-struck or infatuated that either believ'd this himself, or thought he cou'd make others believe it. In a *Letter concerning the origin and force of Prejudices*, the first of those to ⁴⁴ SERENA, as I was showing the successive growth and increase of Prejudices thro every step of our lives, I begun with the impressions we receive in the womb, from the constitution of both our Parents, or from accidents particularly befalling our mothers, and then

Page 4, 5. *proceeded thus. We are presently after our birth deliver'd to nurses, ignorant women of the meanest vulgar, who infuse into us their errors with their milk; frightening us into quiet with the menaces of raw-head and bloody-bones, buggle-boes and bull-beggars. And lest we shou'd be lost by wandring abroad, or drop into wells or rivers, they terrify us with stories of spirits and hobgoblins; making us believe that all lonesom places are haunted, and that the invisible powers are principally active and mischievous*

in the night time. *What is thus invented at the beginning to keep children under government (a government that indeed makes 'em miserable slaves ever after) is believ'd by them in good earnest when they grow older, whereby the whole generation and country come to be persuaded of it at last: and this to such a degree, that many people, otherwise prudent enough, dare not sleep alone in a chamber, nor travel but by day-light; much less have they the courage to enter into empty houses, or churches. From our Nurses we are brought home, where we are still put into worse hands among idle and ignorant servants; whose chiefest entertainments are discourses of fairies, elves, witchcrafts, walking ghosts, fortune-telling, consulting astrologers, or such other chimerical doings: delighting to fright or delude one another, not seldom to carry on their private intrigues; which things, however intended, never fail to make fatal impressions on the children, and for the most part our parents are not wiser. Then we are sent out to school, whither all the youths come equally infected from home, and hear of nothing there but demons, nymphs, genii, satyrs, fauns, apparitions, prophecies, transformations, and other stupendous miracles. We tell all our stories over again among our selves, and what may be conceal'd from a child in a prudent family, he's sure to hear of it at school, &c. I go on in the same manner, without the least allegory or other disguise, to the peculiar prejudices contracted in Universities, Churches, Courts, and all stations of life; and have now produc'd this long passage, not onely because your Lordship was out of England, when my book was publish'd: but also to show that a man must have abandon'd all regards of conscience, and believe others destitute of common sense, when he gravely assures, that when I* *Ubi supra.*
speak of bugbears, and elves, and genii, and such-like cant, I mean the doctrines of JESUS CHRIST
God

God and Man, of three persons in the Trinity, and of the Redemption wrought by our blessed Savior on the Cross, &c. I have never from the beginning to this day treated of these doctrines in any of my books, nor even mention'd them except where I deny'd the charge of *Socinianism*; the authors of which aspersion I do here in my turn charge with falshood, hypocrisy, fraud, and impiety. After shamelessly defaming a Man, and doing their utmost to ruin him by the meanest of practises; yet when they are detected or disappointed, they make not the least advance towards restoring the good name of him they have injur'd: but, like the adulterous woman in the book of *Proverbs*, they wipe their mouths, and say, we have done no wickedness.

Prov. 30.
20.

XII. NOR is what I have here written on occasion of Mr. WOTTON, any digression (my Lord) but serving for example to the subject of the last and the preceding Paragraph: which is, that certain men will neither allow themselves nor others to commend any thing in one from whom they differ; and that they do not stick at saying any thing to his prejudice, be it ever so improbable or even false. These are the men who give Religion the deepest wounds, and who are not only the real and most dangerous unbelievers, but who likewise tempt the unwary and inconsiderate to become such: for if they were heartily persuaded of the doctrines of Christianity, they wou'd not, in direct opposition to them, abandon all truth and charity; nor wou'd others think, they only made a gainful trade of teaching those holy doctrines, but because they perceive their practise glaringly contrary to their profession. Now since I am on this head, and that, at the beginning of this *Letter*, I made out my right to demand

demand justice of those among your Lordship's Clergy, who had injur'd me; I shall lay before you the cause of some reasonable complaint, I conceive to have against Dr. HARE, a Prebendary of your own Cathedral. This learned gentleman hooking me into a work of his, without the least occasion or provocation, I publish'd the following advertisement on the 2d of last February, in the *Postman* and in *St. James's Evening Post*. ' *Whereas*
 ' *the Reverend Dr. HARE, in the Postscript to the*
 ' *4th edition of his Sermon (Church-Authority vindicated) publish'd last friday, speaking of the right*
 ' *reverend the Bishop of BANGOR's writings, uses*
 ' *the following words in page 48; It must be allow'd*
 ' *his Lordship judges very truly, when he*
 ' *says, they are faint resemblances of Mr. CHILLINGWORTH:* for envy it self must own, his
 ' Lordship has some likeness to that great man;
 ' just such a one as Mr. TOLAND has to Mr.
 ' LOCKE, who, in *Christianity not Mysterious*, is
 ' often quoted to support notions he never dreamt
 ' of. *Now this is to inform all those who have not*
 ' *read Christianity not Mysterious, that I have*
 ' *never nam'd Mr. LOCKE in any edition of that*
 ' *book; and that farr from often quoting him, I have*
 ' *not as much as brought one quotation out of him to*
 ' *support notions he never dreamt of. I hope*
 ' *Mr. LOCKE himself may be heard in a matter,*
 ' *wherin he's so nearly concern'd. In the dispute be-*
 ' *tween him and the then Bishop of Worcester, Dr.*
 ' *STILLINGFLEET, his Lordship was pleas'd to*
 ' *affirm, that what he oppos'd in my book was built*
 ' *on Mr. LOCKE; of which allegation the latter in*
 ' *his second Reply, sufficiently shews the falsity.*
 ' *The Author of Christianity not Mysterious, says*
 ' *he, supposes that we must have clear and distinct*
 ' *ideas of whatever we pretend to any certainty*
 ' *of in our mind. Your Lordship calls this a new*
 ' way

Works,
vol. 1, page
438.

Ibid page.
440.

Ibid. page
443.

‘ way of reasoning. The Gentleman of this new
 ‘ way of reasoning, in his first chapter, says som-
 ‘ thing which has a conformity with some noti-
 ‘ ons in my book: but it is to be observ’d, he
 ‘ speaks them as his own thoughts, and not upon
 ‘ my authority, nor with taking any notice of
 ‘ me. *Thus again, granting that I made use of*
 ‘ *words somewhat like his (as who has read any good*
 ‘ *Philosopher, that does not do the same?) I hum-*
 ‘ *bly conceive also, says he, that he made use of*
 ‘ *them as his own, and not as my words; for I*
 ‘ *do not remember, that he quotes me for them.*
 ‘ This I am sure, that in the words quoted out
 ‘ of him by your Lordship, upon which my book
 ‘ is brought in, there is not one syllable of cer-
 ‘ tainty by Ideas. *The Bishop himself was forc’d*
 ‘ *at last to own, that Mr. LOCKE and I went*
 ‘ *upon different grounds; nay he averr’d that mine*
 ‘ *were the better (whether in justice to me, or oppo-*
 ‘ *sition to him, I leave to the judgement of the pub-*
 ‘ *lic) upon which Mr. LOCKE reply’d, I am sup-*
 ‘ *pos’d to say, that the cause why I continue un-*
 ‘ *satisfy’d is, that the Author mention’d went up-*
 ‘ *on a ground different from mine: and, to sa-*
 ‘ *tisfy me, I am told his way is better than*
 ‘ *mine, which cannot but be thought an answer*
 ‘ *very likely to satisfy me. He shows, in a word,*
 ‘ *that I was misrepresented as well as himself, and*
 ‘ *presses the Bishop of Worcester to produce the pa-*
 ‘ *rallel places out of him and me; as I do hereby call*
 ‘ *upon the Dean of Worcester to show, where I have*
 ‘ *often, or once quoted Mr. LOCKE to support no-*
 ‘ *tions he never dreamt of. As Mr. LOCKE*
 ‘ *then took notice, that his name and mine were to*
 ‘ *be join’d, no matter what way; so people cannot*
 ‘ *but now observe, the same artifice is us’d with re-*
 ‘ *gard to the Bishop of BANGOR: for which favor-*
 ‘ *of introducing me into so good company, I thank*
 ‘ both

' both the dignitaries of Worcester; tho I shou'd never importune any body, to violate the rules of candor and decorum, in doing me a like kindness.

JOHN TOLAND. Every body did me all the justice then, I cou'd require on this occasion, except Doctor HARE himself: who, farr from giving glory to God, and ingenuously acknowledging his fault, gets inserted in the *Courant* of next day, these words; *' Instead of* is often quoted, *read* makes great use of Mr. LOCKE's Principles. First Mr. LOCKE peremptorily disowns, that I made any use of his principles *to support notions he never dreamt of*; and secondly, it appears by the whole connection, that this emendation was not in the Doctor's thoughts at the beginning; or supposing it were, that it serves his cause as little as the other way of speaking: since I proceeded upon different principles from Mr. LOCKE, and principles that are better, if you believe the then Bishop of Worcester. In fine, no *Slip of the Pen*, nor any of the methods laid down by an ingenious ⁴⁵ writer, can possibly save the Doctor from oblique dealing: as the drawing me by the head and shoulders into his pamphlet, was unnecessary; if not spiteful, with regard to me or some other. I say it again, that it wou'd have been no condescension below his dignity, since he vouchsaf'd to take notice of me at all, if he had accus'd his memory, or in any other manner own'd his mistake; instead of having recourse to shifts that deserve a courser name, than I am willing to give, out of the respect I pay him on other accounts. He shall find no man more ready to proclaim his real merit, as I shall have some

⁴⁵ *A short Essay upon Lying; or a defence of a reverend DIGNITARY, who suffers under the Persecution of Mr. TOLAND, for a Lapsus calami. 1720.*

occasion to do so, before I finish this Letter. Uniformity of sentiments, as I have already told your Lordship more than once, shall never be the standard of my esteem; and Candor shall ever weigh more with me than Learning or Parts, which yet with all the world I highly admire. How divine was that saying of Prince EUGENE! when sending a mark of his favor from Leicester house to the reverend Mr. WHISTON; *tho I approve not all his sentiments* (said he to an impertinent zealot) *yet I esteem him, as suffering for what he's persuaded to be the truth.* What a reproach is this to his Protestant Persecutors, out of the mouth of one of the Roman communion!

XIII. I KNOW not if I ought to reckon one Mr. PATERSON, who dedicated his book to your Lordship, among my adversaries, whether his design or his performance be consider'd. The book was not originally intended against me, and was even offer'd to the Press, before the little, that is said about me at the beginning and the end, came into his thoughts. The body of it is all patch'd up of Mr. LESLEY's *four Marks*, miserably disfigur'd, as one running may perceive. He who told him, that to make it pass for an *Answer to NAZARENUS* might help the sale, intended him I believe a kindness; nor wou'd I grudge him getting a penny by my name, tho I fancy he us'd it so unartfully as to miscarry in his aim. He's so little appriz'd of the subject I handle, as to write this passage. *The title of NAZARENUS promises something of Gentile Christianity, which fill'd me with vain expectations of a new System of Mythology, a second edition of Mystagogus Poeticus, by Mr. J. TOLAND; or something of that nature like the rest:* whereas both in my preface and in my book, I shew'd that those of the gentile

gentile race, who believ'd on CHRIST, were not bound to the observation of the ceremonial and national Laws of the Jews, and were in this respect call'd Gentile Christians in contradistinction to the Jews; which last were to add the doctrine of CHRIST to their peculiar Ritual and Economy (sacrifices excepted) which they are ever indispensably oblig'd to follow, to the utmost of their power wherever they live. How well I prove this point is another consideration: but I have offer'd so much towards it, that I fancy none of my readers, except Mr. PATERSON, cou'd be at a loss to guess what I meant by *Gentile Christianity*. His insipid upbraiding of that most illustrious Reformer CALVIN (whom he, and his brother MANGHEY affect to stile JOHN CALVIN, by way of contempt) as *incroaching on the sacred Priesthood* (tho the word *Priesthood* was disown'd by CALVIN as well as the thing) demonstrates his profound ignorance; especially, when, a few pages afterwards, he reckons ZUINGLIUS and BEZA among *the holy Successors of the Apostles*. Let him find some assistants who will undertake to show, that CALVIN stood upon a different bottom from ZUINGLIUS and BEZA; or acknowledge that he was, no less than they, one of *the Apostle's holy Successors*. If he's not able to do the first, nor any else for him, your Lordship will own that your Dedicator understood nothing of what he wrote, and that his quarrel is with the mere sound of the word CALVIN. Tis indeed a name that has sounded harshly in the ears of all High-Churchmen from the beginning, as being no friend to their unscriptural Traditions, nor to the superstitious Worship and priestly Dominion they wou'd establish by their means. Such as aim'd onely at English Popery, have treated him with the disdainful smile, the spiritual leer, and a sort of

Page 70.
In the sense
that Priest
stands for
[כהן], 'Ie-
peus, Sa-
cerdos.
Page 77.

modest malignity, easily declining into canker'd malice: while they, who look'd farther with a wishful eye towards Roman Popery, never observ'd any measures with him; but vented all the rage of their hearts in the most scurrilous and opprobrious terms, whenever they had occasion to mention him. What a heap of scandal against him cou'd I produce, out of the writings of profest advocates for the Church of England, but in effect her most dangerous enemies! nor did I ever want a surer mark, wherby to discover an unsound Protestant, or a conceal'd Papist, than to hear any speak disrespectfully of those two blessed instruments of restoring Christian Liberty, LUTHER and CALVIN. As they magnanimously pleaded against the pretended infallibility of others, and honestly avow'd their own fallibility; so being men of like frame with the rest of their species, they had their passions and mistakes. The just rule, with respect to all mankind, is to denominate a person from his predominant qualities. He's the wisest who's guilty of the least follies, and the most virtuous who commits the fewest faults. Those Reformers had their follies and their faults, which their true admirers are as farr from denying, as drawing into example. But when I compare their failings with their excellencies, and above all when I consider their courage, in essaying to deliver from the basest slavery a world fortitiously bewitch'd by fraudulent Priests, the most ungenerous, the most implacable, and cruellest of enemies, I hesitate not to give 'em the preference over all the Conquerors of antiquity. The very designing what they actually perform'd, is above the completest victory over the most numerous host of barbarians. Considering the gross ignorance of the ages immediately preceding the Reformation, the bigotry of the greatest Princes, the vast influence of the Clergy, and the stupendous super-

superstition of the People; I am surpriz'd with infinitely more wonder, that those Heroes discover'd so many truths, than that they continu'd in any errors. And upon the whole I am fully perswaded, that had they been as strenuously seconded by those who came after them, as they themselves began; nay had not their measures been in great part imprudently chang'd, and a composition recreantly made in many things with the enemy, Europe had long ere now enjoy'd the glorious peace of the *Gospel*, or UNIVERSAL TOLERATION, well consistent with NATIONAL ESTABLISHMENTS: but both of them, as to their ultimate design of making men wiser and better, wholly incompatible with any ECCLESIASTICAL MONARCHY, or other Church-constitution whatever independent on the State. I have done with Mr. PATERSON, after begging the favor of your Lordship, whose authority he professedly reveres, to make him alledge the place, not in NAZARENUS onely, but in any book I ever wrote, where *I oppose the Anabaptists*? as he affirms I pretend to do, and with them the Donatists; for as to the Papists, tis freely granted: and if he cannot show you any thing like this, then to know of him, for serving what purpose he told so palpable an untruth? also further to convince him, that no good end can be serv'd by such wicked means. The question here is not what I think of the Anabaptists? but why I shou'd be brought on the stage opposing those, with whom I never had a controversy? and to whom I have willingly done ⁴⁶ justice (as I shall be ever ready to do to all parties) when by others mistaken or misrepresented. I

Page 70.

⁴⁶ See *State-Anatomy*, part 2d, pages 60, 61, 62, 73, *ad finem usque*.

Page 52,
&c.

shou'd never make an end, if I collected all the fictions of this sort, that are spread by others with as compos'd an air of gravity and assurance, as if they were undeniable facts. Nor are they vagrant Service-readers alone (the noted scandal of the Church, by their saying or doing any thing for a morsel of bread) who authorize this detestable practice. Have not some silly Laymen, after Dr. MANGEY's insinuating so much without blushing, reported that I did revile the Apostle PAUL, and call'd him all to nought? This expression I heard with my own ears, in an Inn where I was not known. Whereas, in the first place, every thing of that kind in my book is out of the works of the *Fathers*, so much commended by my adversaries, and wherof Clergymen are commonly the editors. In the second place, I deliver'd them as the aspersions or false notions of PAUL's antagonists; so that if I have in this respect abus'd him, the writers of the *New Testament* and the primitive Apologists have dealt as ill by JESUS CHRIST, the calumnies of whose enemies they have freely recorded, as occasion requir'd. But, in the third place, I have with a candor which has not been return'd to me, and which I did not expect (since certain persons I need not name seldom use it towards each other) defended the Apostle of the Gentiles, against the ⁴⁷ prejudices of the very sect, whose principal tenets I espouse, as to the original plan of Christianity. I have defended PAUL, I say, against the *Nazarens*, for which those adventurers, who were not able to do it, or rather who expose him still more to the Jews, are intemperately angry with me: a violent presum-

47 For the allegations see Nazarens, in pages 24, 25, 29, 30, 31, 32, 35: for the defence, see pages 36, 37, 38, 51, 57, 58, 62, 63, 64, 65, 67, 68, &c.

tion that I am in the right. At least they have brought things to that pass, by their ordinary conduct in this respect, that such a conclusion is generally drawn from the levity, buffoonery, and scurrility of their stile; no less than from their cavilling, prevarication, perverse insinuations, downright falsifying and falsehoods. The best on't is, that when they are told of the bitterness and unfairness so unbecoming their profession, when flagrant instances are produc'd to prove them; then they complain aloud of being sacrilegiously abus'd, that the whole Order, that all Religion, that CHRIST himself, are levell'd at thro' their sides. But again the worst on't is, that they're not onely laught at and disbeliev'd; but those believ'd to be as guilty, or indeed more blame-worthy, who, having the power, show not the will, to discountenance and restrain them.

XIV. WHATEVER the event may be (my Lord) with regard to your Chaplain and Dedicator, you'll be intirely acquitted of all concern for Dr. BRETT, who is no longer a member of our national Church, nor of any other Church on earth, if I rightly understand him: for, to use his own words (in his treatise of TRADITION *necessary to explain and interpret the holy SCRIPTURES*) if therefore I am ask'd, says he, *Page 51.* *what communion I am of, I must answer that I am of the communion of the Primitive Church, of that Church which our SAVIOR and his Apostles first planted at Jerusalem, from whence it gradually overspread the whole world, and from thence obtain'd the name of the one Catholic and Apostolic Church.* But since Communion with some particular Church is prest as indispensable by most Clergymen (the Catholic Church being an abstracted idea from all particular Churches, or rather the idea of what

- those Churches ought to be) if there be no particular Church subsisting according to the plan of *that Church, which our SAVIOR and his Apostles first planted at Jerusalem*, then the Doctor is of no real but onely of an ideal Communion: as I remember old Mr. STEPHENS us'd to say, that he communicated with the Greec Church *in voto*. Let's particularize. That the Church of Rome agrees not with the primitive Church, the Doctor himself has taken the greater pains to prove, in that he was injuriously charg'd with going over to Popery. *The Greec Church is tainted with the like corruptions, of Superstitious and Idolatrous worship, as the Church of Rome. The foren reform'd Churches are farr from coming up to the Apostolic Church, because they all, as it were with one consent, cast off the order of Bishops.* But mark the consequence: they are not therefore so much as Christians, or such as can expect no salvation by their Christianity. *As they despis'd the authority of the Fathers (says the Doctor) and the unanimous consent and Tradition of the whole Church, and trusted onely to their OWN UNDERSTANDING in the interpretation of the Scriptures, they fell into this fatal error, and thereby depriv'd themselves of that Ministry which CHRIST had instituted; and consequently of the BENEFIT of the Word and Sacraments, which he had authoriz'd his Apostles and their Successors, and such as were ordain'd by them, to minister: which being administer'd by others not so authoriz'd, are not of his INSTITUTION, and therefore INEFFECTUAL.*
- The Church of England at the Reformation, tho in her practice she deviated in some material points from the consentient Tradition of the truly primitive and Catholic Church, yet still she declar'd this to be the rule she ought to proceed by. This Church, in the Doctor's opinion came nearest to the primitive Communion of any Church in this part of the world*

world at least; but the present Church of England has deviated from it in several material points, *Ibid.* such (to follow his own enumeration) as are *Chrism* or ointment in the office of Confirmation: mixing *Water* with the Eucharistical wine: making an Oblation of the bread and wine, as a proper Sacrifice of the representative body and blood of CHRIST: invoking the descent of the HOLY GHOST on the elements so offer'd, to make them CHRIST's body and blood in power and effect: anointing the sick with oil: and praying for the dead, which have dy'd in the Lord with the sign of faith. All these (continues the Doctor) are plainly wanting in the present Liturgy of the Church of England, and yet were constantly us'd and practis'd in that Church, which she her self accounts most pure. For these, and certain political reasons (needless here to be specify'd) the Doctor has actually broke off Communion with the present establish'd Church: and as he has not declar'd for any of the Eastern Churches, much less consonant than ours to the primitive Church; so, my Lord, I shall take a convenient opportunity to demonstrate that his conventicle is in all respects unlike to that Church, which our SAVIOR and his Apostles first planted at Jerusalem (this being the primitive Church, most properly so call'd) wherein none of his material points were practis'd or appointed (that of anointing to quite another purpose excepted) any more than they are found in our present Liturgy, or in use among the other Reform'd Churches. I have been the more particular on this head, to show that your Lordship is not answerable for any excesses, into which a man has run, who has forsaken the communion of that Church, in which you hold so considerable a rank. *Those that extoll* Page 5.
her, as truly Catholic and primitive in all respects,
says he, when she is apparently not so in divers material

Page 105.

terial points, do but indeed expose her and themselves also; by asserting what all, that are well acquainted with the doctrine and religion of the primitive Church, must see is not so. Nay, the Popish Churches of Italy, France, Spain, and Germany, are in some respects prefer'd by him to our English Church: for he says it is very certain that these, and all other Churches of that communion, have not fallen either from themselves in their antient integrity, or from the Apostolical Churches which were their founders [contrary to the assertion of our thirtieth Canon] in the use of Chrism at Confirmation, in mixing water with the Sacramental wine, in the oblation of the bread and wine in the Eucharist as a proper Sacrifice, in the unction of the sick, and in praying for the faithful departed. It is confess'd these Churches, adds he, have corrupted and abus'd these institutions, or some of them at least: but the Church of England has not thought fit to reform the abuses, but has forsaken and rejected the things themselves. The equivocation of his *Primitive*, and the Nonentity of his *Catholic Church*, I shall take another occasion, as I just hinted, to set in as clear a light as I can. In the mean time, Dr. BRETT is as much superior to Dr. MANGÉY and Mr. PATERSON in learning as in temper. He draws very subtle conclusions from principles, in my judgement, both precarious and false: but if they are once admitted by those in dispute with him, they'll find it difficult to ward off the force of those conclusions, which wou'd signify nothing against the first Reformers; or those who, following them at present, make the *Scriptures* the sole rule of their Religion, exclusive of all pretences from Tradition. However, the Doctor's mistakes ought to be no barr to his abilities, which are not a little supported by his diligence. These talents, wherever found, deserve respect, tho they do not

com-

command submission : and therefore I'me sorry a man shou'd resemble those so much in any one thing, to whom he's so unlike in most other things. But so it is, that with relation to the Canonical books of the *New Testament*, the *Apocryphal Gospel of BARNABAS*, and the *Gospel of the HEBREWS* long ago destroy'd, I have the same reason of complaint against Dr. BRETT, as against Dr. MANGEY, Mr. PATERSON, or any other: and consequently what I have reply'd to them, may serve for an adequate answer to him, so farr as he joins in the same accusation ; for which reason I wou'd not be at the pains of quoting any passages from him to this purpose, did they not lead me to other things, not foren to the subject. The *Fathers*, as not only I prov'd in AMYNTOR, but Mr. DODWEL and others long before me, frequently quoted Apocryphal books, as if they had been Canonical, or without advertising that they were not so. This led me to propose for information the following difficulty to their admirers. *How the immediate successors of the Apostles cou'd so grossly confound the genuin writings of their masters, with such as were falsely attributed to them? or, since they were in the dark about these matters so early, how came such as follow'd 'em by a better light? The Answer*, says Dr. BRETT, is *very easy if we have recourse to Tradition, otherwise it is insolvable: and therefore*, continues he, *I do not wonder that Mr. TOLAND in this book decries Tradition, and calls us to the Law and to the Testimony, to the New Testament and to that alone, both for doctrine and discipline. I have done so: but expressly declar'd it was Oral Tradition, or stories and practises father'd upon the Apostles long after they were dead, which I maintain'd, as I do still, to be the most chimerical things in nature; none of them being timely or sufficiently*

Pref. page

Nazaren.
pag. 81. 82.
83. 84. 8c
alibi pas-
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ently attested, not to speak of the inconsistency of most of 'em, with what the Apostles did, and said, and wrote. As for written testimony, uninterrupted and unsuspected, duely convey'd and honestly preserv'd (which any one, for me, may call *Written Tradition*) I never deny'd it, nor ever will. I give him my promise, that I shall not dispute the genuinness of any book, which can be made out to me by the like evidence, to that upon which I have receiv'd HOMER or VIRGIL, DEMOSTHENES or CICERO. It was not therefore, as the Doctor no less rashly than uncharitably asserts, to destroy the evidence of the books of the *New Testament* that I reject *Oral Tradition*; but because I reject certain things set up by this *Tradition*, without, besides, and against the authority of those *books*. Well then: if it is not to destroy the books of the *New Testament*, that I discard *Oral Tradition*, it is at least to introduce some other *Scriptures* as of equal authority. Mr. TOLAND knew well, that if he cou'd not make Apostolical Tradition and Succession pass for a chimera, it wou'd be in vain for him to attempt to make his new-found Mahometan Gospel of Barnabas pass for genuin Scripture, or to obtrude upon us the old Apocryphal Gospel of the Hebrews, &c. Where have I ever made this attempt? or where did I offer the least hint, that I ever intended to do any thing like it? I have given demonstration to the contrary, in this very Letter, about the Gospel of BARNABAS; and as for the Gospel of the HEBREWS, I have not allow'd so much to it, as he does himself: for speaking of several books quoted by the Fathers, *They were not books written*, says he, *to deceive or cheat the world* [were they not, Doctor?] *but with an honest intention* [of making people believe what was not true.] But without glozing any more upon him at this time,

thus

Pref.

Page 21.

Ibid. pag. 7.

thus he goes on. *The two Gospels, that according to the Hebrews, and that according to the Egyptians, were both written by honest and well-meaning men, who having heard the Apostles preach, and discourse of our Savior's life and actions, according as they remember'd and apprehended them, but being not divinely inspir'd and directed by the holy Ghost, their memories or their apprehensions failing them sometimes, they were guilty of involuntary mistakes.* DR. MILLS and DR. GRABE say no more; and cou'd I believe as much, I wou'd take them for good evidence; without requiring Inspiration, when the means were at hand for thoro Information. The utmost I said of the Gospel of the HEBREWS was, *Nazaren. that were it still remaining, it wou'd have finish'd* pag. 79 *or prevented abundance of controversies, otherwise not easy to be determin'd; for which reason diverse pious and learned men do now highly regret the loss of the same.* It wou'd set us right about the Nazarens; if it did no more: since these, as I remark'd, believ'd it authentic; and that it might be so for all IRENEUS's airy demonstration, that there cou'd *Ibid. pages* be neither more nor fewer than four Gospels. Dr. *78 and 78.* BRETT cou'd not deny that the Fathers quoted *Pref. pag. 7.* Apocryphal books, and perhaps, says he, *they do not always so plainly show, that they do not believe them to be genuin Scriptures. But what then? do they ever tell us that they are Scripture, that they are any part of the divinely inspir'd writings. No such thing.* No, say you? If the fact be so, then I can neither read nor write, and I have impos'd upon the world both in AMYNTOR and NAZARENUS. To wipe off this heinous charge, and to lay the imposture where it ought, I shall here produce a few examples out of many, where the Fathers directly call such books *Scripture*, and part of the *divinely inspir'd writings.* IRENEUS, who's the Doctor's chief champion for

for *Tradition*, quoting the *Pastor* of HERMAS, calls it *Scripture*. Well therefore has the ⁴⁸ *SCRIPTURE* pronounc'd, which saith, and so goes on with a quotation out of it. *Divinely therefore that power*, says ⁴⁹ CLEMENS Alexandrinus, which speaks to HERMAS by REVELATION, and so elsewhere. The Author of the *Homily concerning* ⁵⁰ *Dice-players*, commonly join'd to the works of CYPRIAN, terms it likewise *Divine Scripture*: and tho ORIGEN speaks doubtfully of it in many places, yet Ad cap. 16. in his explanation of the *Epistle to the* ⁵¹ *Romans*, ver. 14. he believes it *divinely inspir'd*. TERTULLIAN makes the book of ENOCH, which he often quotes, to have been *dictated by the* ⁵² *HOLY GHOST*: and, what's pleasant enough, he strains his invention against those who rejected it, to show how this antediluvian work might be preserv'd for all the ⁵³ *Flood*. What made him so fond of this book, was the smutty conceit, that the Angels, not always true to their guardianship, fell in love with the fair daughters of men, who cou'd not prove cruel to such heavenly creatures; and so they begot no meaner a race than Giants, which is a gigantic argument for *Tradition*. TERTULLIAN was not the onely Father, that hand-

⁴⁸ Bene ergo pronunciavit Scriptura, quae dicit, &c. *Adversus Haeres. lib. 4. cap. 3.*

⁴⁹ Θωκας τοινυν η δυναμις, η τω Έρμα κατ'α αποκλυψιν λαλουσα. *Stromat. Lib. 1. pag. 356.*

⁵⁰ Dicit enim Scriptura divina, vae erit pastoribus: &c. *Homil. de Aleator.*

⁵¹ Puto tamen quod Hermas iste sit scriptor libelli illius, qui Pastor appellatur; quae scriptura valde mihi utilis videtur, et, ut puto, divinitus inspirata. *Explanat. in Epist. ad Roman. lib. 10.*

⁵² Haec igitur ab initio praevidens spiritus sanctus, etiam ostia in superstitionem versura praececinat per antiquissimum prophetam ENOCH. *De Idololatr. lib. 4. cap. 15.*

⁵³ De cultu foeminar. lib. 1. cap. 2.

ed down this amorous piece of Divinity, so like to the gallantry of the Heathen Demons with the pritty maids of antiquity. But if all other shifts shou'd fail, the same TERTULLIAN has one admirable argument in store, to support the credit of the book of ENOCH; and indeed it has afforded help at a dead lift, to many other books no less spurious and ridiculous. It is, that ⁵⁴ ENOCH prophesies of CHRIST, and we ought not to reject any kind of thing, says he, that makes for us, or that is for our purpose: for we read that every Scripture, tending to edification, is divinely inspir'd. Ay, ay: my New Testament tells me it ⁵⁵ is, all Scripture given by inspiration of God is also profitable for doctrine, &c. Now here's another good argument for Tradition, to be drawn from the sincerity and critical acumen of the Fathers. But that some charge may be handsomly made out against me, I do upon this occasion averr, and take upon me to prove it whenever requir'd, that farr the greatest part of the Apocryphal books of the Old Testament were coin'd by some of the Christians themselves, while others quoted them as antient; tho never acknowledg'd by the Jews, neither at that time, nor ever since. Even TERTULLIAN shall for the nonce bear witness to one part of this asseveration. The prophesy of ENOCH, says ⁵⁶ he, may for this cause seem to be rejected by the

⁵⁴ Sed cum Enoch eadem Scriptura etiam de Domino praedicat, a nobis quidem nihil omnino rejiciendum est, quod pertinet ad nos: et legimus omnem scripturam divinitus aedificationi habilem divinitus inspirari. *Ibid.*

⁵⁵ Πᾶσα γραφή θεοπνεύστος ἐστὶ καὶ ὠφέλιμος διδασκαλία, &c. 2 Tim. 3. 16.

⁵⁶ A Judaeis potest jam videri propterea rejecta, sicut et cetera ferè quae Christum sonant: nec utque mirum hoc, si scripturas aliquas non receperunt de eo locutas, quem et ipsum coram loquentem non erant recepturi. *Ibid.*

Jews, as are almost all the rest, which speak of CHRIST: nor verily is this any wonder, that they receive not certain Scriptures which spoke of him, when they were not to receive himself speaking to them in person. SCRIPTURE, Scriptures, divine Scripture, dictated by the holy Ghost, Revelation, Prophecy, divine Inspiration, and such like, are the words of the quotations I have now made: and yet the Fathers, according to

Ubi supra. Dr. BRET, never tell us that the Apocryphal books they cite are Scripture, nor any part of the divinely inspir'd writings. No such thing. In another place he calls it a charge in gross, and deserving no answer till particulars are produc'd. Some

Pref. pag. 9. I have here produc'd, and shall more when he answers these. CLEMENS Alexandrinus speaks too positively of the *Preaching of PAUL*, not to believe it genuin, recommending the SYBILS with HYSTASPES: and as to the passages for the Inspiration of the SYBILS themselves, believ'd by the Fathers, they are too numerous and too manifest to need any place in this Letter. The Doctor's soft distinction, that the Fathers

Ubi supra. do not always so plainly show, that they do not believe the Apocryphal books which they cite to be genuin Scriptures, will not do: for besides the places where they plainly call them Scriptures, or express themselves by words that are equivalent, there are a world of other places where they so join their testimonies to those of the acknowledged Scriptures, that any one who does not take them as given for equal proofs (which most readers will naturally do) must think the distinction both sophistical and knavish. In short, there's nothing on which the Fathers laid their hands that they did not deprave and corrupt, but above

all things the sacred *Scriptures*, which no men in the world were less fit to explain; as appears by their forc'd allegories, delirious etymologies, fanciful allusions, their impertinent and farr-fetch'd interpretations: so that I cannot help being of SCALIGER's mind, that *'s the reading of the Fathers wou'd never make me a Christian. They're full of silly stuff.* Yet these are the conveyers of that *Tradition*, against which the lies which have been spread of my own book within so short a space, is to me no small objection. However because *Tradition* is the pretence for supporting all the superstition, tyranny, and other abuses, which have so much disfigur'd and perverted Christianity in most parts of the world, I ingage to publish a tract on this subject very soon: as the greatest service I think can be done, especially at this time, to the Church of England in particular; in which there are no less than three or four Schisms, on account of certain doting or designing practises introduc'd by the Fathers. This is the piece I have hinted twice already. And, since Dr. MANGEY, according to his usual modesty, says *it is easy for me to promise books which I dare not or cannot write*, I promise that I both will write, and dare publish a treatise concerning TRADITION before Midsummer next, my life and health continuing.

Page 81.

XV. HITHERTO, my Lord, you were little or nothing concern'd in what I have discours'd about Dr. BRETT, bateing what charitable disposition you may have for reduceing him to that Church he has unhappily deserted: for it has been a kind of fate attending certain persons, who made SCHISM so terrible, so damnable a sin, not

58. Je ne me ferois jamais Chretien à lire les Peres: ils ont beaucoup de fadaïses. *Scaligeriana*, pag. 185.

onely to run into a Schism themselves from the *Church of England*, which in their mouths us'd to found the purest as well as the best constituted Church in the world; but likewise to have one or two Schisms in their own schismatical Conventicle, headed by men who agree in nothing, but disowning King GEORGE and your Lordship's right. They who so pathetically recommended unity, have set up altar against altar; they who so eagerly press for Uniformity, have compil'd a new *Liturgy*, liable to all the exceptions of the Dissenters against the *Book of Common-prayer*, and further contaminated with the most fabulous and ludicrous practises of Popery. That part of their *Liturgy*, which contains the Communion Office, the Offices for Confirmation and the Visitation of the Sick, I have now before ⁵⁹ me, of which I presume to give your Lordship some account, because I conclude it is not fallen yet into your hands; since otherwise tis to be reasonably suppos'd, that your Diocese had heard of these Innovations before now, in a more public and authoritative manner. After putting *Water* into the cup, mixing it with the wine, which they pretend to be of Apostolic institution, and a custom borrow'd from the Jews (tho SCALIGER is not the onely learned man who ⁶⁰ denies it) there is a *prayer* wherein the Supper is call'd an UNBLOODY SACRIFICE; which expression, constituting the very essence of the *Mass*, has been unanimously re-

⁵⁹ London, printed for JAMES BETTENHAM, at the Crown in Bateer-nester row, 1718.

⁶⁰ De mettre de l'eau dans le vin in Sacrificio & Coena, nunquam factum est; nec fit apud Judaeos & Samaritanos, nec fiebat etiam in sacrificiis apud Ethnicos. Vinum illud vocabatur Vinum spurcum. Mirum est illos, tam proximos temporibus Apostolorum, tam turpiter errasse. *Scaligeriana*, pag. 252. part 2.

jected as unscriptural, nay as unchristian, by all the Reform'd. At the words of Institution, not onely the sign of the *Cross* is made over the bread in pronouncing **THIS IS MY BODY**; but the figure of a *Cross* appears between the syllables **BO** and **DY** thus, **BO✠DY**, as in **COR✠PUS** in the *Mass-book*. So it is in **BLO✠OD**, without which, and if not nick'd in that instant of pronounciation, perhaps the Elements had still continu'd ordinary bread and wine. What impressions are to be made by these *Crosses*, and the words being printed in Capital letters, I leave others to judge for themselves. I take it, for my part, to be conjuring, and just as effectual. In the *Prayer for the whole state of CHRIST's Church*, among other alterations are these words: *We commend unto thy mercy all thy servants, who are DEPARTED hence from us with the sign of faith, and now do rest in the sleep of peace.* This old and odd fancy gave birth to those prayers for the dead, which brought forth *Purgatory* at last; and which next to special or private *Confession*, for which these Gentlemen have already declar'd, is the most profitable trick that the Priests ever invented. Consecrated bread and wine is to be reserv'd, and carry'd to the houses of such, as, *thro sickness or other urgent cause*, cannot come to church. The next step will be a bell clinking before, and the next to that people devoutly knock'd down that will not bow; that is, worship the Priest who carries God. The Bishop is to *anoint every one who's confirm'd with Chrism or Ointment, making the sign of the Cross upon their forehead, and saying: N. I sign thee with the sign of the Cross, I anoint thee with holy ointment.* Then the Bishop shall lay his hand upon the head of the person he's confirming (as the Priest is to lay his wonder working hand on every thing he's consecrating) and say,

say, *I lay my hand upon thee* [a singular favor] *in the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost.* There follows the form of consecrating the Chrism or Ointment, and the Bishop may keep some of it by him consecrated. The matter of this Ointment for Confirmation (a very Sacrament as these use it) is *sweet oil of Olives, and pretious balsom, commonly call'd balm of Gilead.* APAGE NUGAS! Away with these fopperies and fooleries, shame upon this trumpery and enchantment, as the old Reformers were wont to call them by their right names. In the visitation of the Sick, the words of the Apostle JAMES are thus interpolated. *Jam. 5. 14. any sick among you, let him call for the Elders, that is the Priests, of the Church, &c.* This is no less bold than sacrilegious: nor will the printing it in a different character be any excuse, which is a nicety the bulk of those who read will not observe, as they who are not able to read cannot do it. The sick person (*after the company withdraws*) is to make a special confession of his sins, *the Priest assisting him* [that is pumping him] *by asking such questions, as he shall think proper.* There are rare directions for such Soul and Sin-pumpers in the Church of Rome, which suggest those crimes of which an ordinary sinner would never dream, and that give him an appetite for dainties he never tasted. But no matter, the more one sins, the oftener he goes to confession, whereby the Priest becomes equally master of his secret and his purse. In pronouncing Absolution, the Priest is to lay his sacred hand on the sick person's head, which is a proper emblem of a soft place there. The Oil (for they have also an Unction of the sick) is to be *sweet Oil of Olives.* But what will become of people where there is no sweet oil, or no oil at all? The prayer for consecrating this oil, *is not to be us'd again till it be all spent;*

spent; which is not the way to keep it sweet, unless Consecration has the virtue of preserving it so. The Priest *shall anoint the sick person upon the forehead, making the sign of the Cross*, and saying a *Prayer* that shall never be said over me. The Priest, *when no others can be gotten*, may communicate alone with the sick person. But it wou'd be endless, my Lord, to show how the Church-Liturgy is mangl'd and transform'd by those superlative Church-men. I have not their Offices of public or private *Baptism* (if they have printed any) to see whether they make the children taste milk and honey, or give them the communion: rites as old as their crossing and chrism, nay mention'd by the same persons. Nor do I know whether they exorcise or *conjure the Devil* out of those they baptize; which tho not of so antient date as those other rites, yet is kept in the first edition of King EDWARD's Liturgy, for which those of the newest separation pretend an extraordinary respect. I wou'd fain know further, whether they order the baptiz'd not to be wash'd for a whole week after, whether they kiss them, and crown them, and cloath them in white: practises as old as the cross or chrism, and all upon the same foot; let them make what exceptions or restrictions they please, as I shall show in my treatise of *Tradition*. The truth of it is, the leaders of the new Schism grew ashamed to have a distinction without a difference, for they soon found that scruples about the Royal title alone wou'd not bring people from the public Churches to their meetings: and therefore the Church it self must be represented as much out of order as the Monarchy, both whose defects these gentlemen were to repair. To this end the veneration, profest by some eminent Churchmen for the *Fathers*,

did not a little contribute: and since Dr. BRETT took the liberty of guessing my intentions, I hope I may be as bold with his, which I take to be well exprest by the common saying, that *half a loaf is better than no bread*. Since they cou'd not recover at once that pomp and pageantry, that authority and dominion, so agreeable to the pride of Priests, which they lost at the *Reformation*, and which have by such as themselves been ever since regretted; they went about to introduce them again by small degrees, and-as it were imperceptibly. *Popery* being odious, *Protestancy* must be pretended; and especially the time of King EDWARD, a name still dear to all that hate Idolatry and Superstition. Wherefore the first edition of his *Liturgy*, that is, the first steps for a *Reformation*, which are ever imperfect, must be the standard of perfection. If King EDWARD's name be any thing but a mask (as plainly it serves for no other purpose) we learn by all Historians, that, had he liv'd, he wou'd not have stopt even at the second edition of the *Liturgy*; for which, and certain other reasons, some High-Church writers came little short of thanking God for his death. So that Half-Popery, in the sense of these men, is preferable to perfect Protestancy. After thus giving your Lordship in few words, what I think to be the true account of this matter; I know Dr. BRETT will cry he's no Papist, or owns not the twelve articles added by the *Council of Trent* to the Apostle's *Creed*, and I readily believe him; but it signifies nothing to good Protestants, whether unwarrantable authority be establish'd at Rome, or Canterbury, or Wittemberg, or Geneva; whether the Superstitions introduc'd into the Church be antient or modern, of Eastern or Western original, deduc'd from Fathers or Councils,

cils. These things they'll decry with equal vigor every where: and as the Roman Church, whose head is the P O P E, has exceded all others in tyranny, forgery, and superstition, in adding to the *Bible* and taking from it, in equalling if not substituting *Traditions* to its dictates, these things wherever practis'd are figuratively term'd P O P E R Y, in the same proportion as the *Species* is to its *genus*; and in no other sense is the Doctor reckon'd a *Papist*, or the innovations of his *Liturgy Popery*. They are a rare shooing horn for literal Popery (several of the Nonjurors having actually gone over to that communion) and as such will be oppos'd by all that love the liberty of the *Gospel* or their Country.

XVI. THE truth of the matter is, my Lord, that of the Protestant Churches some were never reform'd enough; and that others of them are going back from their Reformation; and this in more or fewer points, in things of greater or less importance: so that the taxing any of them on these accounts, is not unchurching them, nor yet departing from their communion; which is by no means to be done for every slight error or disorder. The case I acknowledge to be otherwise, when the points contended for lead to Idolatry, Tyranny, Confusion, or the like: and this is the reason I can bear with Consubstantiation, tho not with Transubstantiation; the first being indeed a speculative error, but the last actual Idolatry. More examples I need not give in this place, nor will I dwell upon the wide difference between voluntarily tolerating some things erroneous, and rigorously pressing the necessary observation of them; which alters their very nature, and from indifferent makes them essential:

but in one thing I am persuaded that all Christian Churches are at present defective, and this is the notion they have about the Jewish Law, as if JESUS CHRIST had abolish'd it, even with respect to that same nation to whom it was peculiarly given. This I take to be a palpable error, but not a sufficient motive for making a separation; since none of the Gentiles were to observe this Law, and that therefore no Christian Churches now in the world are much affected by the mistake: tho' antiently pernicious to both Jews and Gentiles, and this not for a small season, nor in mere niceties. The little that has been said by my adversaries, concerning the distinction I maintain to have been originally intended of JEWISH AND GENTILE CHRISTIANS, has serv'd but to confirm me the more in my notion of this matter. I mean ' that the Jews, tho' associating
' with the converted Gentiles, and acknowledging
' them for brethren, were still to observe their
' own Law thro'out all generations; and that
' the Gentiles, who became so far Jews as to ac-
' knowlege one God, were not however to ob-
' serve the Jewish Law: but that both of them
' were to be for ever after united into one body or
' fellowship, in that part of Christianity parti-
' cularly, which, better than all the preparative
' purgations of the Philosophers, requires the
' sanctification of the Spirit, and the renovation
' of the inward man; and wherin alone the
' Jew and the Gentile, the Civiliz'd and the
' Barbarian, the Freeman and the Bondslave,
' are all one in CHRIST, however otherwise
' differing in their circumstances. In NAZARE-
NUS I show'd the advantages of this scheme
for the better understanding of the *Scriptures*, for
the reconciling of many difficulties otherwise in-
soluble,

soluble, the uniting of the Jews and Gentiles in those principles no less useful and generous than eternally true, and which alone must constitute the most perfect or universal Religion. I hinted that a great many of the observances in the *Old Testament*, tho generally mistaken for Religion, were only national and commemorative Ceremonies, wherein no other people were concern'd, any more than in their municipal sanctions, solely calculated for that Government: and that the MOSAIC LAW was perpetually binding to the Jews, Sacrifices only excepted. Upon this foot the first converts to Christianity among the Jews, or the NAZARENS and EBIONITES (of whom the no less candid than able and laborious Dr. WHITBY rightly says, *these are not the names of persons, who are the authors of any sects; but of the Jews which believ'd in JESUS, and yet were zealous observers of the Law*) the NAZARENS, I say, did, together with the doctrine of CHRIST, observe their national and distinguishing rites of circumcision, the passover, with the like: and so fully convinc'd am I of the justice of their procedure in this respect, that, if born a Jew, I had still continu'd one; notwithstanding that I shou'd not the less become a Christian, which wou'd be the true fulfilling of the Law. I shou'd without all question have defended this scheme, from the plain words and scope of both the *Testaments*, had no *Fathers* ever mention'd the NAZARENS. This is the sense, this is the system that first offers it self, in perusing the *new Testament* after the *Old*; and were it not for those *Fathers* and their followers, it wou'd still naturally offer it self to every Reader. I cannot but admire, by the way, how so capable a person as Dr. BRETT, shou'd commit so great a paralogism as I am going

On 2 Cor.
12. 21.

Pref.
Page 9.

ing to show. *The first Christians*, says he, *were the twelve Apostles, the seventy Disciples, and such other as our SAVIOR receiv'd into his Church in his own life-time: but that any of these were afterwards of the sect of the NAZARENS, or EDITIONITES, does not appear.* I have made it appear above in this very Letter against Dr. MANGY, that *JESUS of Nazareth's* followers were, after him, call'd NAZARENS by their friends and by their foes: but that writers shou'd afterwards call the first disciples NAZARENS, when this name was turn'd from its original sense and made odious, I neither pretended to prove, nor expected that any else shou'd attempt it. Yet it is incontestably imply'd by such as say the NAZARENS were the first converts from among the Jews, unless they deny the Apostles and the seventy disciples to have been of that nation. But I am above taking any advantage of writers seldom consistent with themselves. To return therefore from whence I digress'd, the NAZARENS subsisted, and had numerous Churches in the East, above 300 years; and, till the great dispersion of the Jews under the Emperor ADRIAN, the Christians of Jerusalem were all NAZARENS. All their Bishops were of the Circumcision, not one of them of the Gentile race, till MARCUS who was the sixteenth. The preceding fifteen are thus reckon'd by historians: JAMES the brother of JESUS, SIMON the Son of CLEOPAS, JUSTUS, ZACHARY, TOBIAS, BENJAMIN, JOHN, MATTHEW, PHILIP, SENECA, JUSTUS the second, LEVI, EPHRAIM, JOSEPH, and ⁶¹ JUDE. I said that the Chri-

⁶¹ Euseb. H. E. lib. 5. cap. 12. Nicephor. Chronograph. in cap.
Ὅσοι γεγονασί πατερᾶς καὶ εἰς Ἱερουσαλὴμ, ut alios non citem.
stians

stians of Jerusalem were all NAZARENS, but I shou'd have said with ⁶² Sulpitius Severus, that *almost all the inhabitants of Jerusalem did at the same time believe on CHRIST and observe their own Law.* Nor had there been long e'er now a Jew in the world, who did not profess Christianity, were it not that the Gentile Christians wou'd needs force them to quit their Law. This prov'd of very pernicious consequence, JESUS CHRIST having never taught or commanded the abrogation of the Law. Nor was it any more declar'd abolish'd by the *Apostles*, all the passages alledg'd out of them to this purpose, being manifestly forc'd and wrested: and if men might not change this Law, which I suppose will be granted on all hands, I desire to know where God has done it? In the mean time the learned Dr. HARE, whom I had occasion to mention before, has with as much judgement as brevity and perspicuity, stated this point; tho' he draws a consequence, that will not follow from his premisses. Showing in his Sermon, intitul'd *Church-authority vindicated*, that *binding and loosing* did not ⁶³ mean, as many have imagin'd, a power given by CHRIST to his apostles of retaining or abolishing such parts of the Jewish Law, as they shou'd think fit; and then farther showing in a Marginal ⁶⁴ note, that *the binding and loosing us'd by the Jewish Doctors*, was not assuming to themselves a power to dispense with, or to annul any thing that was clearly commanded by any Law of MOSES, but to explain the sense of them, and to

⁶² Militum cohortem custodias in perpetuum agitare iussit, quae Judaeos omnes Hierosolymae aditu arceret; quod quidem Christianae fidei proficiebat, quia tum penè omnes Christum Deum sub Legis observatione credebant. *Hist. sac. lib. 2.*

⁶³ In pages 21, 22, 23, &c. of the first Edition.

⁶⁴ Ibid. page 23.

explain the questions that shou'd arise de licitis aut non licitis in lege, &c. Now this certainly, pursues he in the same note, is very different from a power to abrogate the Laws themselves here contended for. Nothing can be more contrary to the whole conduct of our SAVIOR, while on earth, than this interpretation. He declar'd on all occasions, that he came not to destroy the Law, but to fulfil it. He was very exact in observing himself, and obliging others to observe every the least command of it: and there was nothing he avoided with more CARE, than to give A JEALOUSY to the Jews that he had such A DESIGN, as he's suppos'd to have declar'd to his Apostles in these words. The abrogating of the ceremonial part of the Jewish Law, seems to have been one of the things, which the Disciples as yet were not able to bear, Joh. 16. 12. and tis plain from several places in the Acts, particularly c. 21. 20. that they had not the LEAST APPREHENSION of this being our Savior's meaning, neither when he spoke these words, nor for several years after his death. The truth is, that at last when the judicial and ceremonial parts of the Law were to cease, they rather expir'd of themselves upon the destruction of the City and Temple, which was a total dissolution of the Jewish Polity, than were abrogated by any AUTHORITATIVE DECLARATION or ACT of the Apostles. Nothing remain'd but Synagogue-worship, which being of human institution, did not want a divine commission, either to alter, or to put an end to it. Now since CHRIST avoided nothing with more care, than to give a jealousy to the Jews that he had such a design, as abrogating their Law; and that the Apostles did not abrogate it by any authoritative declaration, or act: it will seem past question, that a matter of such consequence,

quence, a Law so solemnly given by God himself, that had continu'd so long, and was so frequently pronounc'd to be of perpetual obligation, shou'd not be declar'd nul and void by the event, which is most commonly, even in ordinary affairs, a very wrong as well as unfair way of judging. The Jewish Polity was totally dissolv'd at the Babylonish captivity, and Jerusalem laid in ashes; yet the Jews did not then conclude themselves dispens'd from observing all that they possibly cou'd of their Law, as they sollicitously do at this day: nor want they menaces for their neglect of it, nor prophetic hopes to see it reestablish'd (in which expectation I profess my self rooted) maugre all the revolutions that shall befall them. The shortness or length of their dispersion is no sure rule of judging the case, which, as I said just now, is not to be determin'd by consequences. Besides that the maintainers of this abrogation are little agreed among themselves. The Law was not to cease, say most, when CHRIST was born; nor, say some, when he began his ministry; nor, say others, at his death; nor, say others yet, till the destruction of Jerusalem: neither are they to this day agreed about the steps of their gradual abolition, but go on from supposition to supposition; several of 'em contradictory, and all precarious. But they mistake the men with whom they have to deal, and to whose laughter they frequently expose themselves. *It must be granted* (says Dr. Kidder, the once worthy Bishop of Bristol, well vers'd in the Hebrew learning) that *“some of the antient, and many of the modern Christians, have defended their own*

doctrines, and disputed against the Jews, with such weak and insufficient arguments; that they have thereby only harden'd the Jews, and given a blow to their own cause. Many Scriptures have been misapply'd: and the Jews have been assaulted by noise and clamor, by idle legends and strain'd interpretations, rather than by all the ways of rational conviction. And very often Force has been us'd instead of Reasoning; and, instead of allowing them to be men of wit and sense (as in truth they are) and treating them humanely, we have us'd them barbarously: and with great inhumanity persecuted them, whom we ought to have convinc'd. Nor are we ever like to convert the Jews (says this excellent scholar in another ⁶² place) while we teach any doctrines against COMMON SENSE, and against the EXPRESS LETTER of the Law of MOSES. I will not take upon me to declare, what are the doctrines he meant against common sense, whatever others have done or may still do. I cou'd guess very near: but certainly nothing is more against the express letter of the Law of MOSES, than the abrogating or annulling of this Law, otherwise than as a punishment of disobedience to it; and then tis always with a promise of restoration in due time, upon their serious and thoro amendment. Wherefore the Doctrine of the Old NAZARENS being in it self a matter of the highest importance, and I being earnestly prest both by the words of the present, and the letters of the absent, to treat of this subject expressly, by setting it in the clearest light (as being the likeliest means to illustrate and recommend the true Christianity) I shall do my indeavour, after

he best manner I can to give my friends content, and at the same time to perform my duty to the World. For, My Lord, notwithstanding the imputations of Heresy and Infidelity so often publish'd by the Clergy, as lately in the vauntingest manner by one not unknown to you (the whiffing and the ignorant being ever the most arrogant and confident) I assure your Lordship, that the Purity of Religion and the Prosperity of the State have been ever my chiefest aims. CIVIL LIBERTY and RELIGIOUS TOLERATION as the most desirable things in this World, the most conducing to peace, plenty, knowlege, and every kind of happiness, have been the two main objects of all my writings. But as by Liberty I did not mean Licentiousness, so by Toleration I did not mean Indifference, and much less an Approbation of every Religion that I cou'd suffer. To be more particular, I solemnly profess to your Lordship, that the Religion taught by JESUS CHRIST and his APOSTLES (but not as since corrupted by the substractions, additions, or other alterations of any particular man or company of men) is that which I infinitely prefer before all others. I do over and over again repeat CHRIST and his APOSTLES, exclusive of either Oral Tradition, or the determinations of Synods: adding, what I declar'd before to the World, that Religion, as it came out of their hands was no less plain and pure, than useful and instructive; and that, as being the business of every man, it was equally understood by every body. For CHRIST did not institute one Religion for the learned, and another for the vulgar; as the defenders of *Tradition* must hold, or else quit their plea. On the contrary, tis recorded that the Common people heard JESUS gladly; and he was not onely follow'd by
diverse

diverse of the female sex, but also among the converts of PAUL are reckon'd of the honorable women not a few. This supposes, that, being well inclin'd and unprejudic'd, they easily comprehended the evidence of the Christian doctrine, which they preferr'd to their native but less edifying religions. And certainly one of the most distinguishing advantages of true Christianity is this, that neither poverty, nor want of learning, nor the hurry of particular callings, can hinder any person from acquiring it, without which it cou'd not properly be a perfect Religion: but rather on the same foot with the Traditional worship of the degenerate Jews, the awful Mysteries of the bewilder'd Heathens, or with the secret Initiations of certain mungrel Philosophers; whereas it supplies the imperfections of the first, detects the vanity of the second, and prevents the impostures of the third. Not the borrow'd terms and tenets of antient perplexing Sophisters, nor the barbarous jargon and distinctions of later scholastic wranglers, neither the precarious hypotheses of conceited Theorists, nor the pretended inspirations of wild Enthusiasts, were then the establish'd Articles of Faith. Truth was not carry'd by a majority of Voices, nor any thing taught for truth, but what visibly tended to make men either wiser or better. Riddles about the Person of CHRIST, were not substituted then to his doctrines; nor the circumstantials made the fundamentals, nor the history of Christianity made the essence of the same. And here, my Lord, I wou'd address my self to those who are more knowing, to be inform'd, for what purpose any thing can serve, which does not render us either wiser or better than we were before? And if it be granted to be to no good purpose (as I can yet perceive

ceive no reason why it shou'd not) then I wou'd again be inform'd why nations, provinces, families, friends, and acquaintance shou'd be disturb'd, why all union shou'd be dissolv'd, affections divided, laws subverted, or governments unhing'd, about such things as no mortal can either conceive himself, or tolerably explain to others? Such are the decrees of God, the immediate state of departed souls, the manner of God's subsistence, of his understanding, or of his providence, with other subjects, which, tho deem'd more easy, are not better known than these. Requiring people to believe what they cannot understand, is ordering 'em to make bricks without straw. Hence in great part procede the divisions of Christians, tho this be not the onely cause: wheras nothing is wiser, plainer, truer, and consequently more divine, than what CHRIST and his APOSTLES have propos'd about the means of reconciling God to sinners, of purifying the mind, of regulating manners, of directing conscience, of illuminating the understanding, of stating particular duties, of fixing the hope of rewards to the good, of planting the fear of punishment in the wicked, of propagating mutual love, forbearance, and peace among all mankind, of improving, conducting, and supporting civil society. This is not the Religion of those,

— *Quorum, quicquid non creditur, Ars est;*

nor will they thank me for this description, who have turn'd CHRISTIANITY into a plan of dominion, a system of gain, and a school of contention: as in the first preaching of it, such as glory'd in being the onely true Church, were those Scribes and Pharisees who most resisted its progress,

progress, and the Priests were of all others its fiercest Enemies; neither is this to be reputed a wonder, since there is no such satyr in the world against Priestcraft as the *Gospel of CHRIST*, which made the Priests never cease till they brought him at last to the Cross. I beg your Lordship's pardon, if I have been more prolix than stands with your leisure: not doubting however, but you'll procure me reparation from those of your Clergy that have injur'd me; and prevent others from falling hereafter into the like gross falshoods, wilful mistakes, or ridiculous follies. I am with all due respect,

My Lord,

Sept. 17: 1720.

Your Lordship's

most obedient Servant,

J. T.

F I N I S.

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ERRATA.

THE author passing the summer in the country, and not always seeing the last revise, the Reader is desir'd to correct the following errors of the press; or if he finds any more, they are left to his candor.

In the Preface.

Page xviii, line 44. political read philosophical. p. xxi, l. 6, *ῥοτνια* r. *ῥωτνια*. p. xxii, l. 3, receipts r. *receptis*.

In the Work.

Page 9, line 32, for RAMUZZI read RAMUSIO. p. 12, l. 28, perversness r. perversness. p. 31, l. 31, attributes r. attribute. p. 59, l. 10, *dele* his. p. 111, l. 3, BAROMIUS r. BARONIUS. p. 120, l. 6, His r. This. p. 122, l. 3, oimt r. omit. p. 146, l. 33, and r. and an. p. 168, l. 21, first r. last. *Ibid.* l. 22, last r. first. p. 178, l. 1, most r. more.

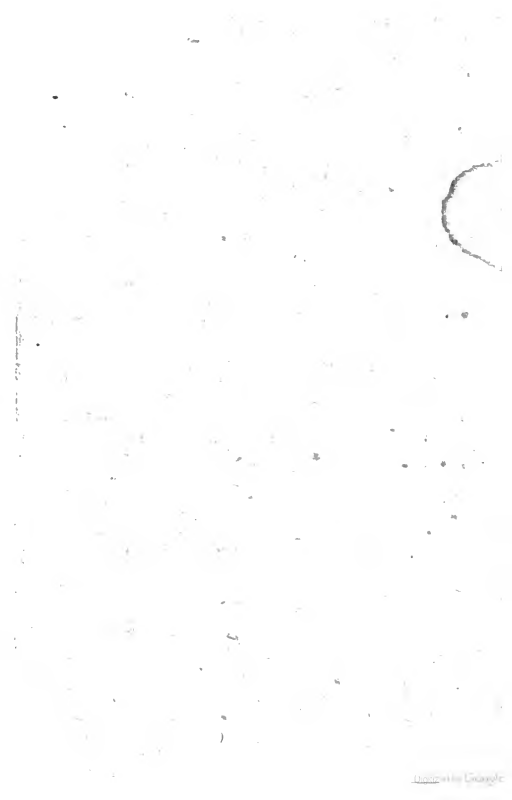
In the inner Margin.

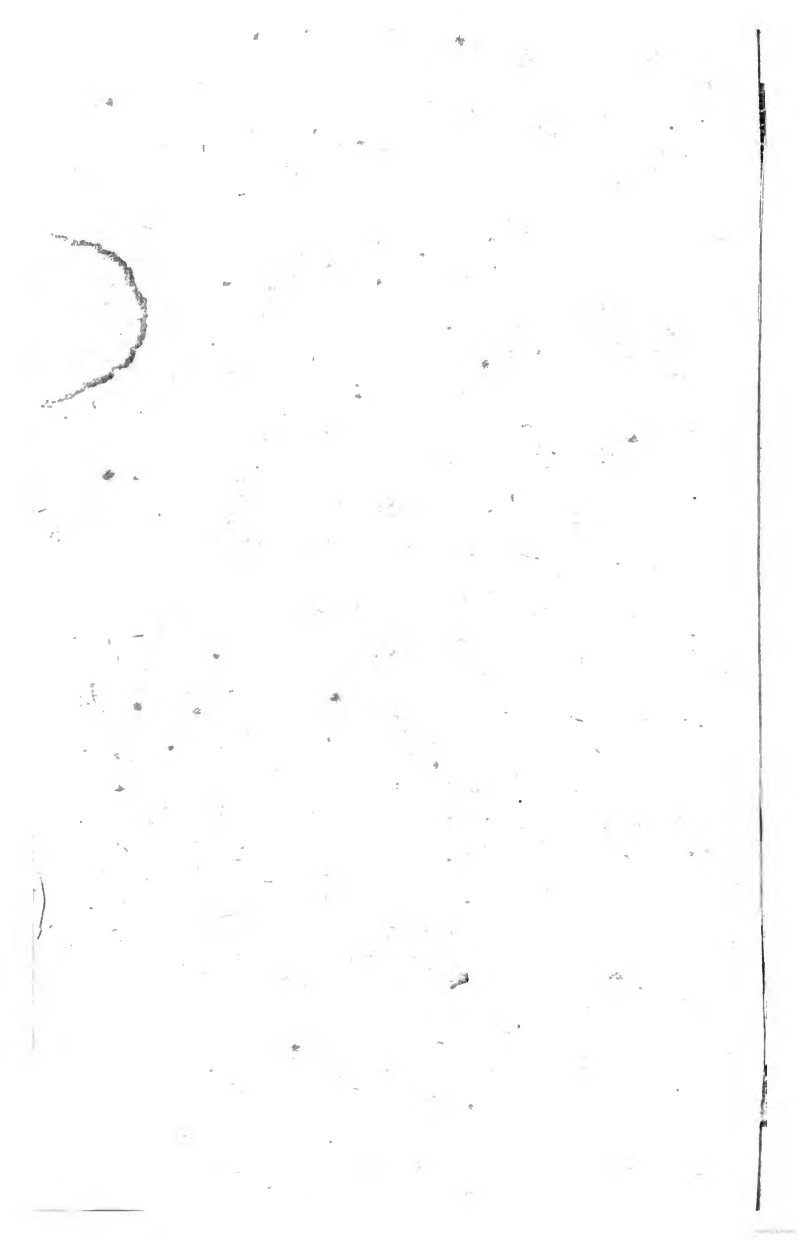
Page 10, line 2, eodum read eodem. p. 14, l. 5, *□□לול* r. *□□לול*. p. 18, l. 15, M gos r. Magos. p. 20, l. 4, coe itus r. coelitus. p. 38, l. 2, refieri r. reficere. p. 175, l. 6, Scotch, r. Scottish.

In the outward Margin.

Page 15 *□□* read *□□*. p. 81, *κατ* r. *κατ*. p. 165, Acts 1. 22. r. Acts 2. 22. *Ibid.* Jo. 1. 45. r. Jo. 1. 46.







163

B.

36



